

By Mr. A. MITCHELL PALMER: Memorials of Justice Council, Junior Order United American Mechanics, of Glenlyon, Pa., and Local Union No. 2034, United Mine Workers of America, in favor of House bill 15413; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. SHEFFIELD: Petition of Thomas P. Pickham and 42 other citizens, of Rhode Island, for a children's Federal bureau; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. STEPHENS of Texas: Petition of the Cherokee Nation of Indians, against the claim of the heirs of John W. West; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. SULZER: Petition of National Association of Merchant Tailors in America, against reduction of postal rates on second-class matter; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, petition of the American Paper and Pulp Association of New York, against increase of postal rates on second-class matter; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, petition of St. Louis Advertising Men's League, the Christian Herald, Irving Kessler, the American Exporter, the Allied Printing Trades Council of the United States, the J. H. Simmons Publishing Co., and the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity, against increase of postage on second-class matter; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. TILSON: Petition of Mattabessett Grange, No. 42, Middleton, Conn.; Unity Grange, No. 9; Norwich Grange, No. 172; Chester Grange, No. 2; Hallenbeck Grange; and Mystic Grange, for a general parcels-post system; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. VOLSTEAD: Petition of citizens of Minnesota, against reduction of duty on barley; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of citizens of Elbow Lake and vicinity; citizens of Redwood County; residents of Redwood, Yellow Medicine, and Renville Counties; Alfred Frost and others, of Dawson; citizens of Wendell; Valentine Kelzer and others, against Canadian reciprocity; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WANGER: Resolutions of Royersford and Spring City (Pa.) Trades Council, respecting tax on oleomargarine; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, protest of the Wrightstown Farmers' Club, of Bucks County, Pa., against the passage of the Canadian reciprocity bill; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, protest of the American National Live Stock Association, against the Canadian reciprocity bill; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

## SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, February 22, 1911.

The Chaplain, Rev. Ulysses G. B. Pierce, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou who art the God of our fathers, we rejoice in the return of this day, sacred to the memory of him who, in Thy providence, was the father of our country. Through the labors and the pains, through the hopes and the fears of the elder days, Thou hast brought us to this year of grace, bestowing upon us on the way blessings unnumbered and undeserved. Other men have labored, and we have entered into their labors. The little one has become a thousand and the small one a strong Nation, even an exceeding excellence and a joy of many generations. And for this great good whom shall we thank, in Thy name, but him who has become to us a model of public virtue and an example of private character? As again his words speak to us through the centuries, grant unto us attentive ears and obedient hearts.

We pray Thee, our Father, to bless our country. May peace be within her walls and prosperity within her palaces. For brethren and for companions' sakes, we now say, Peace be within thee, O blessed land! May they prosper who love thee!

Defend us, we pray Thee, against all violence from without and from all discord within. Write Thy commandments upon the hearts of this people, and teach us to love Thy law. So may we go from strength to strength, and ever be that happy Nation whose God is the Lord.

And as Thou wast with our sires, so be Thou with their sons and with our children, now and forever more. Amen.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on request of Mr. Brown, and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

## READING OF WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

The VICE PRESIDENT. In accordance with a resolution adopted by the Senate many years ago, Washington's Farewell Address will now be read to the Senate. It will be read by the junior Senator from Iowa [Mr. Young], whom the Chair has heretofore designated for that purpose.

Mr. YOUNG read the address, as follows:

*To the people of the United States:*

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS: The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you at the same time to do me the justice to be assured that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest, no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness, but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this previous to the last election had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence impelled me to abandon the idea. I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety, and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust I will only say that I have, with good intentions, contributed toward the organization and administration of the Government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my political life my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me, and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise and as an instructive example in our annals that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead; amidst appearances sometimes dubious; vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging; in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts and a guaranty of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free Constitution which is the work of your hands may be sacredly maintained; that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and

virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which can not end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger natural to that solicitude, urge me on an occasion like the present to offer to your solemn contemplation and to recommend to your frequent review some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget as an encouragement to it your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people is also now dear to you. It is justly so, for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad, of your safety, of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that from different causes and from different quarters much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth, as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively, though often covertly and insidiously, directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it, accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned, and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affection. The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discrimination. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together. The independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the same agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes in different ways to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in a like intercourse with the West, already finds, and in the progressive improvements of interior communications by land and water will more and more find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort, and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one Nation. Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength or from an apostate and

unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined can not fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations, and what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same governments, which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs as matter of serious concern that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations—northern and southern, Atlantic and western—whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You can not shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heartburnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head. They have seen in the negotiation by the Executive and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the General Government and in the Atlantic States unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi. They have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties—that with Great Britain and that with Spain—which secure to them everything they could desire in respect to our foreign relations toward confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your union a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute. They must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate union and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This Government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government



presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction; to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put in the place of the delegated will of the Nation the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community, and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common councils and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely in the course of time and things to become potent engines by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people and to usurp for themselves the reins of government, destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Toward the preservation of your Government and the permanency of your present happy state it is requisite not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect in the forms of the Constitution alterations which may impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what can not be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments as other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember especially that for the efficient management of your common interests in a country so extensive as ours a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the State, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

The spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual, and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the Government itself through the channels of party passion. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the Government and serve to

keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true, and in governments of a monarchical cast patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose, and there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be by force of public opinion to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power and proneness to abuse it which predominates in the human heart is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into the different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments, ancient and modern, some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If in the opinion of the people the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this in one instance may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, Where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles.

It is substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric? Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace; but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should cooperate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty it is essential that you should practically bear in mind that toward the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the Government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this

conduct. And can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant period a great nation to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others should be excluded, and that in place of them just and amicable feelings toward all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur.

Hence frequent collisions; obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation prompted by ill will and resentment sometimes impels to war the government contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject. At other times it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation) facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country without odium, sometimes even with popularity, gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation a commendable deference of public opinion or a laudable zeal for public good the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak toward a great and powerful nation dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter. Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike of another cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots who may resist the intrigues of the favorites are liable to become suspected and odious, while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not legally hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interests, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world, so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand, neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the Government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish—that they will control the usual current of the passions or prevent our Nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good—that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism—this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice and by that of your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take and was bound in duty and interest to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without anything more, from the obligation which justice and hu-



manity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity toward other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanely speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence, and that, after 45 years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love toward it which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat in which I promise myself to realize without alloy the sweet enjoyment of partaking in the midst of my fellow citizens the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever-favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers.

Go: WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, September 17, 1796.

#### HOUSE BILL REFERRED.

H. R. 32767. An act for the allowance of certain claims reported by the Court of Claims under provisions of the acts approved March 3, 1883, and March 3, 1887, commonly known as the Bowman and Tucker Acts, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Claims.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by W. J. Browning, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed the following bills and joint resolution, with amendments, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

S. 8457. An act to restore to the public domain certain lands withdrawn for reservoir purposes in Millard County Utah;

S. 9443. An act providing for the naturalization of the wife and minor children of insane aliens making homestead entries under the land laws of the United States;

S. 9903. An act to authorize the Sheridan Railway & Light Co. to construct and operate railway, telegraph, telephone, electric power, and trolley lines through the Fort Mackenzie Military Reservation, and for other purposes;

S. 9904. An act granting certain rights of way on the Fort D. A. Russell Military Reservation at Cheyenne, Wyo., for railroad and county road purposes;

S. 10011. An act for establishing a light and fog-signal station on the San Pedro Breakwater, Cal.;

S. 10015. An act for rebuilding and improving the present light and fog signal at Lincoln Rock, Alaska, or for building another light and fog-signal station upon a different site near by;

S. 10177. An act to authorize additional aids to navigation in the Lighthouse Establishment, and for other purposes;

S. 10318. An act authorizing the Commissioner of the General Land Office to grant further extensions of time within which to make proof on desert-land entries;

S. 10596. An act to authorize the Rainy River Improvement Co. to construct a dam across the outlet of Namakan Lake at Kettle Falls, in St. Louis County, Minn.; and

S. J. Res. 132. Joint resolution authorizing the delivering to the commander in chief of the United Spanish War Veterans of one or two dismounted bronze cannon.

The message also announced that the House had passed the following bills and joint resolutions, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H. R. 24212. An act to amend section 4875 of the Revised Statutes to provide a compensation of \$100 per month, with fuel and quarters, for the superintendent of the Arlington (Va.) National Cemetery;

H. R. 27298. An act relating to homestead entries in the former Siletz Indian Reservation, in the State of Oregon;

H. R. 31806. An act to amend section 1 of the act approved March 2, 1907, being an act to amend an act entitled "An act conferring jurisdiction upon United States commissioners over

offenses committed on a portion of the permanent Hot Springs Mountain Reservation, Ark.;"

H. R. 32213. An act to authorize the city of Portsmouth, N. H., to construct a bridge across the Piscataqua River;

H. R. 32341. An act to authorize the St. Paul Railway Promotion Co., a corporation, to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River near Nininger, Minn.;

H. R. 32400. An act to authorize the North Pennsylvania Railroad Co. and the Delaware & Bound Brook Railroad Co. to construct a bridge across the Delaware River from Lower Makefield Township, Bucks County, Pa., to Ewing Township, Mercer County, N. J.;

H. R. 32440. An act authorizing the Moline, East Moline & Watertown Railway Co. to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the south branch of the Mississippi River from a point in the village of Watertown, Rock Island County, Ill., to the island known as Campbells Island;

H. R. 32571. An act to consolidate certain forest lands in the Kansas National Forest;

H. J. Res. 276. Joint resolution modifying certain laws relating to the military records of certain soldiers and sailors;

H. J. Res. 286. Joint resolution authorizing the printing of 100,000 copies of the Special Report on the Diseases of the Horse; and

H. J. Res. 287. Joint resolution authorizing the printing of 100,000 copies of the Special Report on the Diseases of Cattle.

The message further returned to the Senate, in compliance with its request, the bill (S. 288) for the creation of the police and firemen's relief fund, to provide for the retirement of members of the police and fire departments, to establish a method of procedure for such retirement, and for other purposes.

#### SENATOR FROM OHIO.

Mr. DICK presented the credentials of ATLEE POMERENE, chosen by the Legislature of the State of Ohio a Senator from that State for the term beginning March 4, 1911, which were read and ordered to be filed.

#### PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The VICE PRESIDENT presented a joint memorial of the Legislature of the State of Oregon, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### House joint memorial No. 5.

A memorial to Congress for adoption by the House of Representatives and Senate, now in session, pertaining to protection of manufacturing industries in States in which the interstate-commerce laws at this time render ineffective protection to said manufacturing industries.

Whereas the manufacturers of Oregon and the home industries of this State are made to suffer through the lack of protection afforded on account of the rulings of the courts in reference to the interstate-commerce laws; and

Whereas the State of Oregon is being flooded with goods and with merchandise which, being made in any penitentiary, prison, reformatory, or other like institutions, are proving to be to the detriment of the home industries of this State: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the State senate and the house of representatives now assembled do present this, a memorial, to Congress, requesting that Congress do protect the various States' industries by providing a law that all such penitentiary and penal made goods be stamped, labeled, or marked by the institution making such goods with the name of the institution, the date of manufacture, and that such goods or merchandise be so stamped, labeled, or marked before leaving such institution for interstate shipment; and be it further

*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to Oregon's United States Senators and Representatives.

Adopted by the house February 6, 1911.

JOHN P. RUSK, *Speaker of the House.*

Concurred in by the senate February 14, 1911.

BEN SELLING, *President of the Senate.*

#### STATE OF OREGON.

#### OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

I, F. W. Benson, secretary of state of the State of Oregon and custodian of the seal of said State, do hereby certify that I have carefully compared the annexed copy of house joint memorial No. 5 with the original thereof, which was adopted by the house February 6, 1911, and concurred in by the senate February 14, 1911, and that it is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole of such original.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed hereto the seal of the State of Oregon.

Done at the capitol, at Salem, Ore., this 16th day of February, A. D. 1911.

[SEAL.]

F. W. BENSON, *Secretary of State.*

The VICE PRESIDENT presented a joint memorial of the Legislature of the State of Oregon, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### House joint memorial No. 8.

To the Congress of the United States, greeting:

Whereas numerous volunteer regiments who enlisted for the War with Spain in 1898 that were sent to the Philippine Islands and did valiant service there in suppressing the Philippine insurrection after the treaty of peace with Spain was signed were returned to the United

States and mustered out without being paid the customary travel pay allowed soldiers under similar conditions:

Therefore we, your memorialists, the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon, earnestly pray your honorable body to enact into law a bill for the purpose of giving travel pay to all volunteer soldiers who remained in the Philippine Islands doing service after the treaty of peace with Spain was signed and who have not heretofore obtained the same.

Adopted by the house February 6, 1911.

JOHN P. RUSK, *Speaker of the House.*

Concurred in by the senate February 14, 1911.

BEN SELLING, *President of the Senate.*

STATE OF OREGON,  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

I, F. W. Benson, secretary of state of the State of Oregon and custodian of the seal of said State, do hereby certify: That I have carefully compared the annexed copy of house joint memorial No. 8 with the original thereof, which was adopted by the house February 6, 1911, and concurred in by the senate February 14, 1911, and that it is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole of such original.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed hereto the seal of the State of Oregon.

Done at the capitol at Salem, Oreg., this 16th day of February, A. D. 1911.

[SEAL.]

F. W. BENSON, *Secretary of State.*

The VICE PRESIDENT presented a joint memorial of the Legislature of the State of Oregon, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

House joint memorial No. 13.

To the honorable Senate and House of Representatives, Congress of the United States.

GENTLEMEN: Your memorialists, the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon, would respectfully and earnestly represent to your honorable body that the pensions now granted under existing laws to the veterans of the Civil War are, by reason of advancing age and increasing infirmities, inadequate to the deserts and needs of these old soldiers who are so rapidly passing away.

We therefore urge upon your honorable body the passage of House bill 29346 (the Sulloway bill) granting increased pensions to the survivors of the Civil War commensurate with their increasing age and infirmities.

The number of survivors of the Civil War is rapidly growing smaller and their ranks are fast becoming depleted, and we feel that their services to the Nation have been sufficient to warrant the payment to them of the pension provided for in this bill.

It is hereby directed that a copy of this memorial, duly signed by the president of the senate and the speaker of the house, and attested by the chief clerks of the two houses, be immediately forwarded to each of the Oregon Senators and Representatives in Congress.

Adopted by the house February 13, 1911.

JOHN P. RUSK, *Speaker of the House.*

Attest:

W. F. DRAGER, *Chief Clerk of the House.*

Adopted by the senate February 14, 1911.

BEN SELLING, *President of the Senate.*

Attest:

E. H. FLAGG, *Chief Clerk of the Senate.*

STATE OF OREGON,  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

I, F. W. Benson, secretary of state of the State of Oregon and custodian of the seal of said State, do hereby certify that I have carefully compared the annexed copy of house joint memorial No. 13 with the original thereof, which was adopted by the house February 13, 1911, and adopted by the senate February 14, 1911, and that it is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole of such original.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed hereto the seal of the State of Oregon.

Done at the capitol at Salem, Oreg., this 16th day of February, A. D. 1911.

[SEAL.]

F. W. BENSON, *Secretary of State.*

The VICE PRESIDENT presented the petition of C. K. Buckley, commander of U. S. Grant Post, Department of New York, Grand Army of the Republic, of Brooklyn, N. Y., praying for the enactment of legislation mustering Frederick Dent Grant into the service of the Army of the United States as of date April 26, 1863, and mustering him out as of date July 4, 1863, with the rank of captain, in order that he may join the Grand Army of the Republic, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented a memorial of the Westbury Quarterly Society of Friends, of New York City, N. Y., remonstrating against any appropriation being made for the fortification of the Panama Canal, which was referred to the Committee on Inter-oceanic Canals.

Mr. DU PONT presented petitions of Washington Camp No. 12, of Port Penn, and of Washington Camp No. 17, of Leipsic, Patriotic Order Sons of America, in the State of Delaware, praying for the enactment of legislation to further restrict immigration, which were referred to the Committee on Immigration.

Mr. FRYE presented memorials of Local Union No. 9, Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers' Union, of Augusta; of Kennebec Valley Grange, No. 128, of Anson; of Riverside Grange, No. 273, of Brewer; of Local Grange of Sidney; of Riverside Grange, of Lebanon; of Sandy River Grange, of Madrid; of Good Will Grange, of South Warren; of Highland Grange, of North Penobscot; of Local Grange No. 44, of South Paris; and of Mountain Grange, No. 164, of Buckfield, Patrons of Husbandry, all in the State of Maine, remonstrating against the ratification of the

proposed reciprocal agreement between the United States and Canada, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. KEAN presented memorials of sundry citizens of Newark, Burlington, Jersey City, Union, Ridgefield Park, Waldwick, Weehawken, and Plainfield, all in the State of New Jersey, remonstrating against any change being made in the rate of postage on periodicals and magazines, which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented petitions of Washington Camp No. 97, Patriotic Order Sons of America, of Bridgeton; of Samuel B. Ferdon, H. I. Oswald, J. B. Bogert, H. C. Ball, W. A. Irwin, Fred F. Henkel, William B. Lyon, Edwin J. Marsh, and Charles E. Veeder, all of Hackensack, in the State of New Jersey, praying for the enactment of legislation to further restrict immigration, which were referred to the Committee on Immigration.

Mr. SHIVELY presented a memorial of the Allied Printing Trades Council of South Bend, Ind., representing the Typographical Union, the Pressmen's Union, the Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union, and the Bookbinders' Union, remonstrating against any increase being made in the rate of postage on periodicals and magazines, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of Franklin Grange, No. 1593, Patrons of Husbandry, of Lanesville, Ind., remonstrating against the ratification of the proposed reciprocal agreement between the United States and Canada, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. BURNHAM presented memorials of Ernest W. Bickford, of Rochester; W. O. Field, of Concord; Hollis L. Wiggin, of Meredith; Frank P. Cheney, of Littleton; L. E. Charles, master General Stark Grange, of Manchester; E. E. Austin, Batchelder Grange, of Manchester; W. H. White, of Deerfield; Albert J. Richardson, of Littleton; A. L. Mackie, of East Kingston; Don S. Bridgeman, of Hanover; Henry M. Beard, of Grassmere; L. N. Bryan, deputy State Grange, of West Rumney; Eva M. Brown, secretary Belknap County Pomona Grange; Indian River Grange, No. 72, of Canaan; Weare Grange, No. 276, of North Weare, Patrons of Husbandry; I. J. Smith, deputy State Grange; Bert D. Paige, deputy State Grange; C. B. McClure, deputy State Grange; Harvey A. Jewett, deputy State Grange; Fred W. Dudley, deputy State Grange; George L. Flanders, member grange, of Warner; and Georgie P. Blake, master Carroll County Pomona Grange, of Sanbornville, all in the State of New Hampshire, remonstrating against the ratification of the proposed reciprocal agreement between the United States and Canada, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. OLIVER presented a petition of Local Union No. 484, Musicians' Protective Union, of Chester, Pa., praying for the repeal of the present oleomargarine law, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

He also presented a petition of Washington Camp No. 161, Patriotic Order Sons of America, of Lock Haven, Pa., praying for the enactment of legislation to further restrict immigration, which was referred to the Committee on Immigration.

He also presented memorials of the Manufacturers' Club and the Board of Trade, of Philadelphia, Pa., remonstrating against the ratification of the proposed reciprocal agreement between the United States and Canada, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented petitions of Thomas Post, No. 84, of Lancaster; and of McPherson Post, No. 117, of Pittsburg, Department of Pennsylvania, Grand Army of the Republic; and of the Naval Veteran Legion, of Philadelphia, all in the State of Pennsylvania, praying for the passage of the so-called old-age pension bill, which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. RAYNER presented memorials of Local Grange, of Sandville; and of Local Grange, of Cambridge, Patrons of Husbandry, in the State of Maryland, remonstrating against the ratification of the proposed reciprocal agreement between the United States and Canada, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented petitions of Washington Camp No. 9, Patriotic Order Sons of America, of Baltimore; and of Acme Council, Junior Order United American Mechanics, of Hebbville, in the State of Maryland, praying for the enactment of legislation to further restrict immigration, which were referred to the Committee on Immigration.

Mr. HEYBURN presented petitions of Midway Grange, No. 39, and of Nampa Grange, No. 38, Patrons of Husbandry, in the State of Idaho, remonstrating against the ratification of the proposed reciprocal agreement between the United States and Canada, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. DICK present petitions of New Era Council, of Cincinnati; of Highland Council, of New Petersburg; and of Local Council of Norward, Junior Order United American Mechanics; of Local Council No. 1166, American Federation of Labor of



Fremont, and of Local Council, American Federation of Labor of Lorain, all in the State of Ohio, praying for the enactment of legislation to further restrict immigration, which were referred to the Committee on Immigration.

He also presented a memorial of sundry citizens of Delphos and Cincinnati, in the State of Ohio, remonstrating against any increase being made in the rate of postage on periodicals and magazines, which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. WARREN presented the memorial of Charles C. Young, of Saratoga, Wyo., remonstrating against the ratification of the proposed reciprocal agreement between the United States and Canada, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. BRANDEGEE presented a petition of the Court of Common Council of Hartford, Conn., praying for the ratification of the proposed reciprocal agreement between the United States and Canada, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. GALLINGER presented memorials of Fremont Grange and West Rockingham Pomona Grange, of Fremont, and of Indian River Grange, of Canaan, Patrons of Husbandry, in the State of New Hampshire, remonstrating against the ratification of the proposed reciprocal agreement between the United States and Canada, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented telegrams in the nature of memorials of Henry M. Beard, gatekeeper, New Hampshire State Grange; L. E. Charles, master, General Stark Grange; E. E. Austin, Barchelder Grange; and Bert D. Paige, deputy, State Grange, all of Manchester; F. A. Rogers, deputy, New Hampshire State Grange, of Meridian; Andrew L. Felker, treasurer, New Hampshire State Grange, of Merdith; Edward L. Patterson, deputy, New Hampshire State Grange, of Portsmouth; I. J. Smith, deputy, New Hampshire State Grange, of Plymouth; Mount Livermore Grange, of Holderness; Charles A. Tibbitts, deputy, New Hampshire State Grange, of Rochester; W. H. Tripp, steward, New Hampshire State Grange, of Short Falls; Eva M. Brown, of Tilton; L. N. Bryan, deputy, New Hampshire State Grange, of West Rumney; Charles A. Rollins, deputy, New Hampshire State Grange, of Lake Shore Park; Albert J. Richardson, member executive committee, New Hampshire State Grange, of Littleton; W. H. White, of Manchester; A. L. Mackie, deputy, New Hampshire State Grange, of East Kingston; Don S. Bridgman, of Hanover; Gerry F. Parker, master, Hudson Grange, of Hudson; Albert M. French, deputy, New Hampshire State Grange, of Gilsum; C. B. McClure, deputy, New Hampshire State Grange, of Munsonville; Gilbert G. Fellows, of Franklin; Fred W. Dudley, deputy, New Hampshire State Grange, of Hollis; George L. Flanders, of Warner; Harvey A. Jewett, deputy, New Hampshire State Grange, of East Tilton; Georgia P. Blake, master of Carroll County Pomona Grange, of Sanbornville; and Orville P. Smith, general deputy, New Hampshire State Grange, of Ashland, all in the State of New Hampshire; and of W. J. McCambridge, of Ticonderoga, N. Y., remonstrating against the ratification of the proposed reciprocal agreement between the United States and Canada, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. HALE presented memorials of sundry citizens and granges in the State of Maine, remonstrating against the ratification of the proposed reciprocal agreement between the United States and Canada, which were referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered to be noted in the Record, as follows:

#### PULP AND PAPER.

Memorial of the Board of Trade of Livermore Falls, Me.; and Memorial of Local Union No. 69, International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, of Millinocket, Me.

#### FARM PRODUCTS.

Memorial of Farmington Grange, No. 12, Patrons of Husbandry, of Farmington, Me.;

Memorial of Amity Grange, No. 384, Patrons of Husbandry, of Amity, Aroostook County, Me.;

Memorial of Highland Grange, No. 364, Patrons of Husbandry, of Penobscot, Me.;

Memorial of Parkman Grange, No. 305, Patrons of Husbandry, of Parkman Corner, Me.;

Memorial of Good Will Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, of South Warren, Me.;

Memorial of Queen City Grange, No. 30, Patrons of Husbandry, of Bangor, Me.;

Memorial of Harvest Moon Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, of Thorndike, Me.;

Memorial of Northern Light Grange, No. 6, Patrons of Husbandry, of Winterport, Me.;

Memorial of 105 citizens of New Sweden, Me.;

Memorial of R. R. Higgins and H. H. Higgins, of Mapleton, Me.; and

Memorials of sundry citizens of Aroostook County, Me.

Mr. HALE presented a petition of Custer Command, Union Veterans' Union, of Foxcroft, Me., praying for the passage of the so-called old-age pension bill, which was ordered to lie on the table.

#### REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE.

Mr. BURKETT, from the Committee on the District of Columbia, to which was referred the bill (S. 10136) providing for the protection of the interests of the United States in lands and waters comprising any part of the Anacostia River, or Eastern Branch, and lands adjacent thereto, and for other purposes, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 1221) thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill (S. 3527) to establish and disburse a public-school teachers' retirement fund in the District of Columbia, submitted an adverse report (No. 1222) thereon, which was agreed to, and the bill was postponed indefinitely.

#### BILLS INTRODUCED.

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. SHIVELY:

A bill (S. 10872) granting an increase of pension to Sarah Van Nordstrand; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. GALLINGER:

A bill (S. 10873) to provide for the erection of a monument to the signers of the Declaration of Independence; to the Committee on the Library.

#### AMENDMENTS TO APPROPRIATION BILLS.

Mr. DEPEW submitted an amendment relative to the settlement of accounts of disbursing officers of the Navy, etc., intended to be proposed by him to the naval appropriation bill, which was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs and ordered to be printed.

He also submitted an amendment proposing to increase the limit of cost, exclusive of armor and armament, of the battleship *Florida* from \$6,000,000 to \$6,400,000, etc., intended to be proposed by him to the naval appropriation bill, which was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs and ordered to be printed.

Mr. PILES submitted an amendment proposing to appropriate \$25,000 for the purchase of a site for the Pacific coast torpedo station, intended to be proposed by him to the naval appropriation bill, which was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs and ordered to be printed.

He also submitted an amendment proposing to appropriate \$1,000 for the construction of a walk on Burwell Avenue, navy yard, Puget Sound, State of Washington, etc., intended to be proposed by him to the naval appropriation bill, which was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs and ordered to be printed.

Mr. GALLINGER submitted an amendment proposing to appropriate \$2,565,000 for the construction of an armory building for the National Guard of the District of Columbia, etc., intended to be proposed by him to the sundry civil appropriation bill, which was referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds and ordered to be printed.

Mr. DICK submitted an amendment proposing to appropriate \$200,000 for the purchase of a site for a public park in northeast Washington, D. C., etc., intended to be proposed by him to the sundry civil appropriation bill, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

#### NOTICE OF MEMORIAL ADDRESSES.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I desire to give notice that on Saturday, the 25th, at 5 o'clock, I shall ask the Senate to consider resolutions commemorative of the life and character of Hon. WILLIAM S. LOVERING and Hon. CHARLES Q. TIRRELL, late Members of the House of Representatives from Massachusetts.

I will also take this occasion, Mr. President, to give notice that I shall ask the Senate to proceed to the consideration of executive business at the earliest moment possible before adjournment to-day.

#### LAND IN PENSACOLA, FLA.

Mr. FLETCHER. On yesterday the Senate passed House bill 31987, providing for the releasing of the claim of the United States Government to arpent lot No. 44 in the old city of Pensacola, Fla. The House having passed a similar Senate bill, I move that the votes by which the House bill was read the third time and passed be reconsidered.

The motion to reconsider was agreed to.

Mr. FLETCHER. I move that the House bill be indefinitely postponed.

The motion was agreed to.

## LANDS IN MILLARD COUNTY, UTAH.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 8457) to restore to the public domain certain lands withdrawn for reservoir purposes in Millard County, Utah, which was to strike out line 3 down to and including the word "to," in line 4, and to insert "That the President may, in his discretion."

Mr. SMOOT. I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House.

The motion was agreed to.

## JAMES RIVER DAM, MISSOURI.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 574) to authorize J. W. Vance, L. L. Allen, C. F. Helwig, and H. V. Worley, of Pierce City, Mo.; A. B. Durnil, D. H. Kemp, Sig Solomon, J. J. Davis, S. A. Chappell, and W. M. West, of Monett, Mo.; M. L. Coleman, M. T. Davis, Jared R. Woodfill, jr., J. H. Jarrett, and William H. Standish, of Aurora, Lawrence County, Mo.; and L. S. Meyer, F. S. Heffernan, Robert A. Moore, William H. Johnson, J. P. McCammon, M. W. Colbaugh, and W. H. Schreiber, of Springfield, Greene County, Mo., to construct a dam across the James River, in Stone County, Mo., and to divert a portion of its waters through a tunnel into the said river again to create electric power, which was, on page 2, line 20, to strike out "twenty-second" and insert "twenty-third."

Mr. STONE. The only change made in the bill as it passed the Senate was to strike out the date, a wrong date, of the passage of the act referred to in the bill. As it appeared in the bill, the act was passed on the 22d day of the month. In fact, it was the 23d day of the month, and the House so amended it. That is the only change. I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House of Representatives.

The motion was agreed to.

## DONATION OF DISMOUNTED BRONZE CANNON.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 132) authorizing the delivering to the commander in chief of the United Spanish War Veterans one or two dismounted bronze cannon, which was in line 6, after the word "Spain," to strike out down to and including the word "insurrection," in line 7.

Mr. WARREN. I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House.

The amendment was agreed to.

## DESERT-LAND ENTRIES.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 10318) authorizing the Commissioner of the General Land Office to grant further extensions of time within which to make proof on desert-land entries, which was to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That the Secretary of the Interior may, in his discretion, grant to the entryman under the desert-land laws in the counties of Benton, Yakima, and Klickitat, in the State of Washington, a further extension of the time within which they are required to make final proof, provided such entryman shall, by his corroborated affidavit filed in the land office of the district where such land is located, show to the satisfaction of the Secretary that because of unavoidable delay in the construction of irrigation works intended to convey water to the land embraced in his entry he is, without fault on his part, unable to make proof of the reclamation and cultivation of said lands as provided by law within the time limited therefor; but such extension shall not be granted for a period of more than three years, and this act shall not affect contests initiated for a valid existing reason.

And to amend the title so as to read:

"An act authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to grant further extensions of time within which to make proof on desert-land entries in the counties of Benton, Yakima, and Klickitat."

Mr. JONES. I move that the Senate concur in the House amendment with an amendment in line 2, page 1, before the word "entryman," to strike out "the" and insert "any."

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Washington moves to concur in the amendment with the amendment which he has stated.

Mr. HEYBURN. I should like to inquire of the Senator from Washington what change that makes. Does it convert it from an act of limited application to one of general application?

Mr. JONES. Does the Senator mean the amendment I propose?

Mr. HEYBURN. Yes.

Mr. JONES. The House amendment read: "That the Secretary of the Interior may, in his discretion, grant to the entryman under," and so forth. I have moved to strike out the word "the" and to insert "any."

Mr. HEYBURN. Are the words "the entryman" applied to enumerated entrymen previously stated in the bill?

Mr. JONES. No; there are no other entrymen mentioned in the bill, but it limits it apparently to one single entryman when the intention of the bill was to grant to certain desert-land entrymen in three counties in the State the right to have a further extension.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Washington to concur in the House amendment with an amendment.

The motion was agreed to.

## LIGHT STATION ON SAN PEDRO BREAKWATER.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 10011) for establishing a light and fog-signal station on San Pedro Breakwater, Cal., which was to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That the Secretary of Commerce and Labor be, and he is hereby, authorized to establish a light and fog-signal station on the San Pedro Breakwater, Cal., at a cost not to exceed \$36,000.

Mr. FRYE. I move that the Senate concur in the House amendment.

The motion was agreed to.

## LIGHT AND FOG SIGNAL AT LINCOLN ROCK, ALASKA.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 10015) for rebuilding and improving the present light and fog signal at Lincoln Rock, Alaska, or for building another light and fog-signal station upon a different site near by, which was to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That the Secretary of Commerce and Labor be, and he is hereby, authorized to rebuild and improve the present light and fog signal at Lincoln Rock, Alaska, or establish a light and fog-signal station upon a different site near by, at a cost not to exceed \$25,000.

Mr. FRYE. I move that the Senate concur in the House amendment.

The motion was agreed to.

## AIDS TO NAVIGATION.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 10177) to authorize additional aids to navigation in the Lighthouse Establishment, and for other purposes.

Mr. FRYE. I move that the Senate nonconcur in the amendment of the House and ask for a conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses, and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Vice President appointed Mr. GALLINGER, Mr. DEPEW, and Mr. SIMMONS conferees on the part of the Senate.

## NAMAKAN LAKE DAM, MINNESOTA.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 10596) to authorize the Rainy River Improvement Co. to construct a dam across the outlet of Namakan Lake at Kettle Falls, in St. Louis County, Minn., which was, on page 1, line 8, after the word "Minnesota," to insert "at a point suitable to the interests of navigation."

Mr. NELSON. I move that the Senate concur in the House amendment.

The motion was agreed to.

## NATURALIZATION OF ALIENS.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 9443) providing for the naturalization of the wife and minor children of insane aliens making homestead entries under the land laws of the United States, which was, in line 7, after the word "the," to insert "other."

Mr. NELSON. I move that the Senate concur in the House amendment.

The motion was agreed to.

## HOUSE BILLS REFERRED.

The following bill and joint resolution were severally read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs:

H. R. 24212. An act to amend section 4875 of the Revised Statutes to provide a compensation of \$100 per month, with fuel and quarters, for the superintendent of the Arlington (Va.) National Cemetery; and

H. J. Res. 276. Joint resolution modifying certain laws relating to the military records of certain soldiers and sailors.

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on Commerce:

H. R. 32213. An act to authorize the city of Portsmouth, N. H., to construct a bridge across the Piscataqua River;



H. R. 32341. An act to authorize the St. Paul Railway Promotion Co., a corporation, to construct a bridge across the Mississippi River near Nininger, Minn.;

H. R. 32400. An act to authorize the North Pennsylvania Railroad Co. and the Delaware & Boundbrook Railroad Co. to construct a bridge across the Delaware River from Lower Makefield Township, Bucks County, Pa., to Ewing Township, Mercer County, N. J.; and

H. R. 32440. An act authorizing the Moline, East Moline & Watertown Railway Co. to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge and approaches thereto across the South Branch of the Mississippi River, from a point in the village of Watertown, Rock Island County, Ill., to the island known as Campbells Island.

H. R. 27298. An act relating to homestead entries in the former Siletz Indian Reservation, in the State of Oregon, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

H. R. 31806. An act to amend section 1 of the act approved March 2, 1907, being an act to amend an act entitled "An act conferring jurisdiction upon United States commissioners over offenses committed on a portion of the permanent Hot Springs Mountain Reservation, Ark.," was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The following joint resolutions were read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on Printing:

H. J. Res. 286. Joint resolution authorizing the printing of 100,000 copies of the Special Report on the Diseases of the Horse; and

H. J. Res. 287. Joint resolution authorizing the printing of 100,000 copies of the Special Report on the Diseases of Cattle.

#### KANSAS NATIONAL FOREST LANDS.

The bill (H. R. 32571) to consolidate certain forest lands in the Kansas National Forest, was read the first time by its title.

Mr. STONE. An exactly similar bill has been favorably reported from the Senate Committee on Public Lands and is now on the calendar. The bill covers only one page. I ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the bill for the information of the Senate.

The bill was read the second time at length, as follows:

*Be it enacted, etc.,* That the Secretary of the Interior, for the purpose of consolidating the forest lands belonging to the United States within the Kansas National Forest, be, and he hereby is, authorized and empowered, upon the recommendation of the Secretary of Agriculture, to exchange lands belonging to the United States which are part of the Kansas National Forest for privately owned lands lying within the exterior limits of the said national forest: *Provided*, That the lands so exchanged shall be equal in area and substantially equal in value: *And provided further*, That upon the consummation of such exchange the land deeded to the United States thereunder shall become a part of the Kansas National Forest.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. HEYBURN. I should like to ask the Senator from Missouri if this bill has not eliminated the limitations upon the place where those lands might be selected. I reported the similar bill from the Committee on Public Lands to the Senate. There seems to be no limitation as to the area within which the lieu lands may be selected.

Mr. STONE. The bill states that they are entirely land within the exterior limits of this particular reserve.

Mr. HEYBURN. Yes; but as to where the lieu lands may be selected. I think from listening to the bill that that provision is not in it. We have not been in the habit for several years of passing any bill authorizing the exchange of lands and permitting the selection of the lieu lands outside of the State in which the lands were for which the lieu lands were taken.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, I object to the consideration of the bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Objection is made to the consideration of the bill.

Mr. HALE. I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LORIMER], who is waiting to address the Senate, be permitted now to go on with his remarks.

Mr. STONE. I have no objection to that, but I will ask unanimous consent that the bill be retained on the Vice President's table.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair will hold the bill on the table. The Senator from Maine asks unanimous consent to dispense with the further business of the morning hour. Is there objection?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. What is the request, Mr. President?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair did not put the request just as the Senator from Maine made it. The Senator from Maine asked unanimous consent that the Senator from Illinois be now permitted to proceed. It seemed to the Chair that that

might be a modification of the present unanimous-consent agreement, so the Chair put the request that the morning business be considered closed.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I have a resolution which I very much desire to offer this morning if the Senator from Maine will wait until I have offered it.

Mr. HALE. I will yield to the Senator for that purpose. After that I shall ask that my request be put.

#### BATTLESHIPS FOR ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I submit the resolution which I send to the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution (S. Res. 364), as follows:

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Navy be, and hereby is, directed to transmit to the Senate a report on the following matters:

(1) Copies of any and all orders which may have been issued by the Secretary of the Navy or his subordinates and of all communications received or sent by the Navy Department pertaining to the construction in private shipyards of two battleships for the account of the Argentine Republic.

(2) What, if any, plans of guns, gun mounts, and other appliances pertaining to the armament of battleships the property of the Government of the United States in the custody of the Navy Department have been loaned, transmitted, or communicated to either the representative of the Argentine Republic or to representatives of any shipbuilding company?

(3) What, if any, of such plans cover devices which hitherto through patents or secrecy have been the exclusive property of the United States Government?

(4) What, if any, work has been done in the navy yard at Washington or elsewhere by any officials or employees of the Navy Department, civilians or otherwise, to aid in the construction and armament of the two battleships being built in this country for the Argentine Republic?

(5) If any such plans have been so divulged or if such work has been performed by employees of the Navy Department, by whose authority has such action been taken and such work performed?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I submit another resolution upon the same subject, which I ask may be read.

The Secretary read the resolution (S. Res. 365), as follows:

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of State be, and he hereby is, directed to transmit to the Senate copies of any written communications and report upon any verbal communications which may have passed between the State Department and any other department of the Government of the United States, or between the State Department and any department or representative of the Argentine Republic, and any other communications, written or verbal, which may have been issued or received by the State Department pertaining to the construction and armament in this country of two battleships for the Argentine Republic.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I ask that both resolutions go over until to-morrow morning.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the resolutions will lie on the table.

Mr. KEAN. I suggest to the Senator from Wisconsin that he change the phraseology in the last resolution, in regard to the Secretary of State, to "requested" instead of "directed." It is not a usual thing to direct the Secretary of State.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, considering the nature of the resolution, I can not consent to make the change, much as I should like to do so.

Mr. HALE. The resolution is right as it is.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I think so.

#### SENATOR FROM ILLINOIS.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, I now renew my request that the Senator from Illinois be allowed to proceed.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request? The Chair hears none. Morning business is closed.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the report of the Committee on Privileges and Elections relative to certain charges relating to the election of WILLIAM LORIMER, a Senator from the State of Illinois, by the legislature of that State, made in obedience to Senate resolution 264.

Mr. LORIMER and Mr. HALE addressed the Chair.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from Maine?

Mr. LORIMER. I do.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, the Senator from Illinois will permit me to suggest that, if he desires a place to address the Senate to better advantage than the far corner of the Chamber where his seat is located he come to some seat here in the center of the Senate.

Mr. LORIMER. If a Senator occupying a seat near the center aisle will grant me the privilege of occupying his place I shall be very glad to comply with the suggestion.

Mr. HALE. It is very difficult to hear the Senator from Illinois from where he now stands.

Mr. TALIAFERRO. The Senator from Illinois may have my seat.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Florida offers the Senator from Illinois his seat.

Mr. LORIMER advanced to Mr. TALIAFERRO's seat.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Illinois will proceed.

Mr. LORIMER. Mr. President, I understand that the senior Senator from Indiana [Mr. BEVERIDGE] was discussing the Illinois election yesterday and failed to conclude his remarks. I prefer to go on with my remarks at this time, but if the Senator from Indiana desires to conclude his remarks before I proceed I shall be very glad to yield the floor for that purpose.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. The Senator can proceed. Besides, he does so under a unanimous consent agreement, and it would not be possible for me to change it.

Mr. LORIMER. Mr. President, many questions have been suggested by the statements of Senators in the debate on this case. Those suggestions concern mostly the actual condition of my election to this body.

Did I organize the Illinois Legislature against Hopkins?

Did I make Shurtleff speaker in order to be elected Senator?

Did I make Lee O'Neil Browne my agent—my corrupt agent?

Why did I stay in Springfield during the contest?

For what purpose did I talk to Shephard in the speaker's room?

Why did the Democrats vote for me?

These are some of the questions suggested by the statements of Senators in opposition to the committee report or openly put by them in the course of debate. To these questions many sorts of answers have been given by my opponents. Some of those answers have been fanciful theories, some mere guesses and surmises. There is only one kind of answer that should stand or that should count in this case; that is the plain matter-of-fact simple truth. It is this matter of fact, this truth, that I propose to lay before the Senate to-day.

I rise to-day simply to tell, as one who lived through it all, exactly how my election at Springfield was brought about, to answer the foregoing questions with the facts that alone can answer them correctly.

There has been an effort made to cover this whole case with a cloud of suspicion; to make it appear that some man with a powerful intellect, a powerful ability to organize men, by some well-laid scheme prepared a plan to organize the legislature for the purpose of defeating Senator Hopkins and to elect a United States Senator. Some Senators have intimated that that man with the powerful mind and wonderful genius of organization was no other person than myself. I propose to address myself to the statements made by those Senators and on which they expect to build the structure that will create in the minds of Senators in this body the impression that I was not only, as they say, elected by corrupt practices, but that I am the man that was responsible for them.

To begin with, Mr. President, the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. CRAWFORD] in his statement said:

It is also clear from the record that Mr. LORIMER was determined to organize the legislature against Hopkins and Gov. Deneen.

Anybody who knows aught of the organization of that legislature would not make that statement. The facts are that I was not determined to organize the legislature against Gov. Deneen, and, if I had been so determined, under the conditions existing at that time, it would have been impossible for me to do so. To organize a legislature with the aid of Democrats and Republicans is a matter that can not be done just by a wish or a thought. It requires constant effort to bring about a condition of that sort, which Senators would have us understand was a well-defined plan in the head of just one man.

It happened that on the 15th of September I was stricken with illness, and from that day until November I was unable to leave my home. My physicians would not even permit friends to call upon me. I did not leave home until just a few days before the general November election, when I went to my office where I might be seen for an hour during each day in order that the public might know that there was hope of my recovery, as it had been stated in the congressional district in which I was a candidate for reelection that LORIMER was about to die, and "they had better elect somebody who would be alive when the governor issues the certificate of election."

Immediately after the election I took the train for the Pacific coast to go into the mountains for my health, and I traveled along the Pacific coast, and finally landed in the city of Portland. I remember well speaking for a few moments during my presence there to the Commercial Association of that city about waterway improvements, and the senior Senator from that State [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN] was present at that meeting. A day or two after that I was again stricken, with blood poisoning; was operated upon, and lived in the Portland Hotel, until I was

taken back to Chicago, accompanied almost the whole distance to my city by my surgeon. From there I returned to Washington, as will be shown by the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the proceedings of the House of Representatives. There it can be found that I voted during the early part of that session. After the holidays, on the very day on which Mr. Shurtleff was elected speaker, I was in the House of Representatives, and the RECORD shows that I made a motion on the 7th day of January, the day following his election.

Edward Shurtleff was elected speaker of the house of representatives because of a condition that arose there, and if the same condition arose anywhere else in the country the result would have been the same. The governor of our State was very much opposed to the reelection of Mr. Shurtleff and he called in a few of the men, members of the State-house of representatives, over whom he had much influence, and told them that they must organize that body by the election of some person speaker other than Edward Shurtleff. He told them that he did not care who was elected speaker, but that under no circumstances must any Republican vote for Edward Shurtleff, and if they did vote for him, he served notice on them that not one of them could expect to receive patronage at the hands of his administration; and he went even further than that.

He called in Representative Brady, who had pledged his support to Shurtleff for speaker, and told him unless he joined with the men who were trying to organize that body under his dictatorship, every man who was in the employ of the State on Brady's recommendation would be forthwith dismissed. In other words, the governor of our State undertook to dictate to the general assembly who should be its speaker.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Will the Senator permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. LORIMER. I shall be very glad to.

Mr. CRAWFORD. If that statement is a statement of the fact, I would like to ask why it was not put in the record, and why Gov. Deneen was not summoned as a witness, so that he could confront a statement of that kind and have the same opportunity to make reply to it that the Senator has opportunity to make the charge on this floor after the evidence is all closed.

Mr. LORIMER. I am quite unable to answer the question as the Senator would desire to have me do it, for the reason that, first, I was not a member of the committee that investigated the charges.

Mr. HEYBURN. Mr. President—

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. LORIMER. Yes.

Mr. HEYBURN. I think it only fair as a member of the committee to suggest that the Senator from Illinois is replying to statements made upon the floor of the Chamber, and not to statements made in Chicago at the hearings. Consequently he could not have anticipated the questions raised by Members here.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. President—

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Illinois further yield to the Senator from South Dakota?

Mr. LORIMER. Yes.

Mr. CRAWFORD. I should like to have this understood now. If questions asked of the sitting Member are embarrassing because they are being asked now at this critical point in the case, and we are to refrain on that account from asking them, I want to know it, and I will try to observe the rule in that respect.

Mr. LORIMER. May I not say at the outset that I have no objection to any Senator asking any question that suggests itself to him at any time during the discussion of this question.

Mr. BURROWS. Mr. President—

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from Michigan?

Mr. LORIMER. Yes.

Mr. BURROWS. May I suggest that the Senator from Illinois be permitted to make his statement in order, and then at the close if any Senator desires to ask questions it will be of course agreeable to him. But I think it is no more than fair to the Senator that he be permitted to make his statement without interruption.

Mr. LORIMER. Mr. President—

Mr. CRAWFORD. Just one word further—

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Illinois further yield to the Senator from South Dakota?

Mr. LORIMER. Yes.



Mr. CRAWFORD. On account of the importance of this matter I want to understand the situation. If the Senator from Illinois is simply making a statement in the form of an argument and not as a witness in the case, I want to know it. If he is making a statement which he desires to submit as evidence in this case, then it seems to me we should have the opportunity to cross-examine him if we desire.

Mr. LORIMER. Again I wish to state that while I appreciate the courtesy which the Senator from Michigan desires to have extended to me, that I may proceed with my remarks without interruption, I shall have no hesitancy at any point during the time I have the floor in answering any question that any Senator may see fit to ask.

I stated that I was in no way connected with the committee which investigated these charges and had no right to summon Mr. Deneen. During the whole investigation, from the day that I submitted the resolution last May to make this inquiry, no Senator, whether he be a member of the subcommittee, the whole committee, or any Senator in this body will say that I have ever suggested anything to him or made any appeal to him or in any way at any time tried to influence his judgment as to how he should vote in my case. And so I made no suggestions to the committee about who should be called. If the Senator from South Dakota is dissatisfied because the governor of our State was not called to refute these statements, I am not to blame for it. But it would have been impossible to refute this statement, because the cause for making it was not suggested to me until the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. CRAWFORD] made his speech upon this floor just a short time ago.

Mr. President, the Senator in his statement said that it was clear from the evidence that I was determined to organize the legislature for the purpose of defeating Senator Hopkins. I have in my hand a list of the Republican members of the house—24 in all—who voted for Mr. Shurtleff for speaker, and of the 24 Republicans who voted for Shurtleff for speaker 17 voted for Senator Hopkins for United States Senator—some of them one day, some of them a week, some a month, some for two months, and some of them voted for him on every ballot on which the roll was called, including the ballot on which I was elected.

If the theory be correct that I had been conjuring schemes to organize the legislature for dark-lantern purposes, as the Senator suggested, how can it be proven by the statement that I was trying to defeat Hopkins by making Shurtleff speaker when the journal of the house shows that 17 of the 24 Republicans who voted for Shurtleff also voted for Hopkins for United States Senator?

Mr. President, in order that there may be no trouble in verifying this statement, I ask permission to have the names printed in the RECORD in order that Senators may very easily consult the journal of the house and find from it whether or not this statement is correct.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BRANDEGEE in the chair). Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Illinois? The Chair hears none, and the matter will be printed in the RECORD.

The matter referred to is as follows:

NOW REPUBLICANS WHO VOTED FOR SHURTLEFF FOR SPEAKER VOTED LATER ON FOR SENATOR.

Behrens.....	Hopkins.	Lane.....	Hopkins.
Bush.....	Hopkins.	Lederer.....	Mason.
Chipfield.....	Hopkins.	McNichols.....	Hopkins.
Crawford.....	Hopkins.	Nelson.....	Hopkins.
Curran.....	Shurtleff.	Parker.....	Hopkins.
Dudgeon.....	Hopkins.	Schumacher.....	Hopkins.
Erby.....	Hopkins.	Shanahan.....	Shurtleff.
Gillespie.....	Hopkins.	Smejkal.....	Shurtleff.
Glade.....	Hopkins.	Stearns.....	Foss.
Hope.....	Hopkins.	Zaabel (died Jan. 13, 1909).	
Ireland.....	Hopkins.	Zinger.....	Hopkins.
Kittleman.....	Hopkins.	Zipf.....	Foss.

Hopkins's vote, 17.

Mr. LORIMER. Suppose that the President of the United States—a President of the United States, I care not who he be—should call in the Senators of his party, tell them who he wanted for President pro tempore of the Senate, tell them how he wanted the Senate committees organized, tell them that unless they did his bidding they could get no patronage under his administration, and tell them that if they failed to do his bidding every last man employed by the Government on their recommendation should be driven from public employment. Suppose a President could fall so low as to undertake such a feat as that, and that he succeeded in getting into an organization a majority of the members of this body of his own party to carry out his orders to the exclusion of one man and those

who were favorable to him; what do you suppose the Senators would do? What do you suppose party lines would accomplish? It would not take the Senators of this body one moment to make up their minds to cross the party lines and organize the Senate with men who they thought were fit to hold the different offices in the control of this body.

The men in our State did what any set of sensible, courageous men would do. They organized the body regardless of the wishes of the executive branch of the government. If the governor of our State had attended to his own business, said nothing to the members of the house, permitted them without coercion to go on and organize that body, Mr. Shurtleff would have been the choice of 90 per cent of its members, and he would have been elected in the Republican caucus by a unanimous vote. I call for the journal of the Illinois Assembly to justify that statement.

Edward Shurtleff was serving his fourth term in that body. He had twice been its speaker, elected twice before the time we are now discussing by the unanimous vote of his party in the Republican caucus and in the lower house. So, Mr. President, Edward Shurtleff, whom the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. CRAWFORD] would have you believe to be a vile and corrupt man, had twice before presided over the house; and, may I say, he was elected both times without help from me, even without my knowledge until I saw the reports in the paper.

He is not a speaker of my making. He was not a man of power because I gave it to him. I scarcely knew him when he was elected speaker of that body the first and the second time. He owes me nothing, not even support, for promotion to that great office in our State. I was not on more than speaking terms with him until I went to Springfield to secure legislation on the waterway. I could say no more to him than "How do you do, sir," until that time; and the idea that a man could work himself up through the world and become speaker of the house of representatives of that great State, without my aid, and at the same time be known as my political henchman, is the most absurd thing that I have ever known to be stated in this body or any other body in which I have ever served.

That I elected a bitter enemy of Hopkins and my henchman speaker is what the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. CRAWFORD] stated. The contrary is just the truth. Mr. Shurtleff would not have been a member of that general assembly but for the urgent request of Mr. Hopkins and his friends.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will kindly suspend while the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which the Secretary will state.

The SECRETARY. A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 134) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing that Senators shall be elected by the people of the several States.

Mr. BORAH. I ask unanimous consent that the unfinished business may be temporarily laid aside.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Idaho? The Chair hears none. The unfinished business is temporarily laid aside. The Senator from Illinois will proceed.

Mr. LORIMER. Mr. President, Mr. Shurtleff was a candidate for reelection at the earnest request of Senator Hopkins and the friends of Senator Hopkins. They have a rule in his senatorial district that is lived up to religiously, and always has been during the time that candidates were nominated by delegate conventions. A senator's term is for four years, and every time a senator's term expires it goes around to another county. So it was due to go to McHenry County, in which Mr. Shurtleff lived. A friend of Shurtleff was a candidate for senator. Mr. Shurtleff had pledged him his support, and because Mr. Hopkins and his friends knew that there would be a contest over the election of Senator and because they wanted well-informed and influential men in the State legislature when the senatorial election was to come up they pleaded with Mr. Shurtleff to become a candidate. He told them in response that he had given his word to support his friend for senator. They immediately went to this friend and pleaded with him to go to Shurtleff and ask him to become a candidate, which he did. It was on that request and on that release that he became a candidate again for the house.

As the campaign went on much talk was heard everywhere as to whether candidates would pay any attention to the advisory vote. May I not say to the Senator from South Dakota that it was generally the opinion of the people in our State that no candidate would heed the advisory vote unless it happened that he had the plurality or the majority.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from South Dakota?

Mr. LORIMER. I do.

Mr. CRAWFORD. I want to understand the Senator. Does the Senator mean to say that Mr. Shurtleff was a supporter of Mr. Hopkins?

Mr. LORIMER. I will come to that in a moment, if the Senator will permit me to just go along a little further.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Does the Senator mean to distinguish the people of Illinois when he says that all the candidates there decided among themselves that they would disregard the vote of those people unless it happened to be in favor of the candidate?

Mr. LORIMER. I mean to say that the candidates did not intend to regard the primary vote. That is what I mean to say, and I mean to prove that by showing that every candidate before the primary, whether he got the majority or not, was a candidate and was voted for during the session of the general assembly on almost every ballot.

But that is not the point, Mr. President. I want to show that Mr. Shurtleff was a friend of Senator Hopkins. He lived in Senator Hopkins's congressional district. He had been for him as the candidate for Congress for 16 or 18 years. When Mr. Hopkins was elected to this body Mr. Shurtleff was in the legislature and was one of his campaign managers and voted for him and helped to elect him to this body. But after Mr. Shurtleff had become a candidate, as I was about to say, all candidates were looking out for themselves regardless of the result of the primary election, and in order to protect themselves Mr. Hopkins's friends went to Mr. Shurtleff and discussed with him the probability of some other person securing a majority or a plurality in the State, and they asked him what he would do under those circumstances. He said that he would abide by the result of the vote of the Republicans in his own legislative district. They asked him if he would write a letter to that effect. He said he would; and he did write the letter; and that was satisfactory to Mr. Hopkins and to his friends, because it was the identical thing that they wanted him to do.

Then the primary election came on. Mr. Hopkins and his friends were sure that Hopkins would get the primary vote in his congressional district, because he had represented the district in Congress for many, many years. But when the vote was cast it was learned that Mr. Hopkins was beaten in the district by Congressman Foss. When Mr. Shurtleff was consulted about what he would do, he stated that he had written a letter declaring to his constituents what he would do; that he had pledged himself to abide by the majority or the plurality of his district, and that he intended to keep his word and vote for Mr. Foss; and he voted for Mr. Foss on every roll call except three. On two roll calls he voted for Gov. Deneen, and on one roll call, the last, he voted to elect me to this body.

That is the story, and it is the everlasting truth about Mr. Shurtleff and as to his being a henchman of LORIMER.

Then, Mr. President, we go along just a little further in the speech, and we find this statement in the remarks of the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. CRAWFORD]:

The next move was to install Lee O'Neil Browne to the position of minority leader of the Democratic minority in the house.

Let us see how near to the facts that statement runs. Lee O'Neil Browne was elected minority leader, and he was elected minority leader after a contest infinitely more bitter within the lines of his own party than the one in which Mr. Shurtleff was concerned. Mr. Tippit, the other candidate of the Democratic members of the general assembly, was as much opposed to Mr. Browne's leadership as the Governor was to Mr. Shurtleff's leadership. The fight had gone on for many months, but at the end Mr. Browne was selected as the leader of the Democratic minority.

But, Mr. President, not one man of that minority was ever spoken to by me in behalf of Mr. Browne or anybody else, and no man was ever spoken to in behalf of Mr. Browne through anybody else for me.

The proof of it is apparent. If you read the journal of the joint session when I was elected to this body you will find there among the 53 Democrats that voted for me the name of Thomas Tippit and 16 of his followers. Suppose for an instant I had gone in with the power it would be made to appear, from the statement of the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. CRAWFORD], I wielded in the Democratic party, that I had gone into their party affairs and undertaken to foist Mr. Browne on the shoulders of Mr. Tippit and his friends, would they have voted

to send me to this body after I had been responsible for their defeat, their humiliation, and their probable political destruction?

When one comes to know all the history of the organization of the house of representatives, he finds that there was nothing in it that would justify the statement made upon this floor about my connection with Mr. Shurtleff's elevation to the speakership and my connection with Mr. Browne's elevation to the leadership of the minority of the Democratic party in my State.

Laborer efforts have been made to show that I organized the legislature to defeat Gov. Deneen and Senator Hopkins in their united effort to return the latter to the Senate. I desire to call the attention of the Senate to the facts. The first ballot for United States Senator was taken in the separate branches. In the senate Mr. Hopkins received a majority, and in the house he received 61 votes out of a total of 146. The following members of the house belonging to and cooperating with the Deneen faction cast their votes for candidates other than Senator Hopkins:

Abbey	Church	Hull	Price
Ap Madoe	Fulton	Maclean	Reynolds
Butts	Hagan	Pierson	Sollitt

The following members of the house, also of the Deneen faction, failed to respond to their names on the roll call:

Campbell	Scanlan	Ton
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The presence, however, of these members on the following day, as shown by the roll call, shows at least that they were able to be there, had they been interested in securing the election of Senator Hopkins. In proof of the statement that the 15 members named above belonged to Gov. Deneen's faction, I invite an inspection of the journal of the Illinois House on the vote for the election of speaker, where it will be seen that they voted for Edward J. King, the governor's candidate. Had these Deneen followers voted for Mr. Hopkins, he would have received a majority of the votes of the house as well as of the senate, and there could have been no deadlock.

Here is the story in figures:

Total vote cast in house	146
Necessary to a choice	74
Voting for Senator Hopkins	61
Add Deneen votes indicated above	15
Making a total for Hopkins of	76
or a majority of	2

Now, Mr. President, we come to another very important branch of this discussion. Take the journal of the house, and what will you find there? Republican members of the lower house from the district I live in and with whom I am supposed to have influence voted for Mr. Hopkins, including the senator from the district. Every Republican member from the congressional district I represented voted for Senator Hopkins. The record will show that Schumacher and Kittleman and Cruikshank and Ball and McNichols, all from my congressional district, voted for Senator Hopkins.

Let me call your attention to the fact that Gov. Deneen is and was the father of the direct primary, and he traveled from one end of our State to the other urging upon the people to send members to the general assembly to make a direct primary vote the law of our State, and but for him it would not be on our statute books to-day. He used all the arguments that are used by the direct-primary advocates in favor of such a law. He was for it and he got it.

When the roll call was had in the separate branches of our general assembly, the first roll call on senatorship, what do we find by the journal? We find that every single member of that general assembly from Gov. Deneen's own legislative district voted for some person other than Senator Hopkins.

Senator Lundberg, Representative Church, and Representative Fulton, from Mr. Deneen's own district, two from his own ward and his own neighborhood, nominated through his influence and through the power of his organization, voted against Mr. Hopkins for United States Senator. Every member of his congressional district but one, Mr. Kowalski, voted against Hopkins, and Mr. Kowalski changed his vote the next day and never voted for him again. That is the truth, and that is what the house journal will demonstrate to any man who will take the time to make an investigation.

So, Mr. President, the simple statement of the truth does away with the house organization by and on the part of LORIMER to elect himself Senator and to promote, as the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. CRAWFORD] says, dark-lantern schemes; and that is what becomes of the statement that it was done to defeat Senator Hopkins.



But that is not all. There were other days on which votes were had for the election of United States Senator.

At the first meeting of the joint assembly:

Total number of votes cast was.....	199
Necessary to a choice.....	100
Hopkins received.....	89
Foss received.....	16
Mason received.....	6
Shurtleff received.....	12
Stringer received.....	76

There were present and voting on that day for candidates other than Senator Hopkins, 13 members of the general assembly, who were of the Deneen faction, viz:

Senators:	Olsen	Schmidt		
Representatives:				
Ap Madoc	Hagan	Price	Sollitt	
Butts	Kowalski	Reynolds	Ton	
Church	Maclean			
Number of votes cast for Hopkins.....	89			
Add the above named.....	13			
	102			
Necessary to a choice.....	100			
Hopkins's majority.....	2			

If the 13 members named above with whom Gov. Deneen had a controlling influence had voted that day for Senator Hopkins, he would have been elected on the first ballot taken in the joint assembly or on any succeeding ballot that day.

Mr. President, that is not only so of that roll call, but there were five roll calls on that day, and if Gov. Deneen and his friends and the men who were promoting or supposed to be promoting the candidacy of Senator Hopkins had voted for him he would have been elected on any ballot on that day.

As proof of this statement the record will show that the day did come when the men to whom I have referred did vote exactly as Gov. Deneen wanted them to vote. That was the day of the last roll call when I was elected to this body. Weeks before Gov. Deneen had told many of his friends to help elect me. They told me so. I told them I would not accept their support unless they told the governor that if they once pledged their support to me under no conditions would they ever break their word.

The day before the roll call on which I was elected the governor called these men into the mansion and into his office and told them that LORIMER must not be elected; that it would be better to have no election, to allow nobody to be elected, and to let the legislature adjourn without the selection of a United States Senator; and these men one after another stated to him:

I have given my word to LORIMER; I will not break it. If you thought it wrong to elect him you should not have permitted me to become pledged to him with your consent.

These men gave me their support to the end.

Those of the Deneen faction who had promised me their support and who broke their word when the roll was called, and those the governor controlled who had not promised to support me, on the final roll call at the governor's suggestion, supported Hopkins. When the time arrived that he wanted to place them either in one column or the other, they went where the governor suggested they should go. So, Mr. President, it was not a prolonged fight to defeat Hopkins. Hopkins was beaten on the first day. Hopkins was beaten on the second day. After the first session of the joint assembly the question was no more about Hopkins, but it was who can, under these conditions, be elected to the United States Senate? That was the question from the first day and from the second day, and then began the effort to elect a United States Senator upon whom the Republicans could agree.

I talked with the governor every week I was in that city, and I urged for weeks and weeks that he himself become the candidate of the party. I told him I believed if he would take the place our party, rent asunder with factional strife, would be united. The lieutenant governor of our State is the son of Gov. Oglesby, who had been governor of our State two terms and served one term in this body. The name of Oglesby is cherished by every citizen of Illinois, I care not the party to which he belongs. Oglesby was nominated under a direct primary without any organization. The governor was against him and all the governor's organization was opposed to him. Ex-Gov. Yates was a candidate for governor and his friends opposed Oglesby. The result of it reminds me of a statement that I heard former Senator Mason make to a large mass meeting in Springfield immediately after McKinley was nominated for President. He said:

All the politicians were against McKinley; all the men who have influence were against him; there was nobody for him but the people.

Oglesby was nominated by the people of the State without the support of any faction, and I believed, and other Republicans

believed, that if Deneen was elected to this body and Oglesby became the governor, that he would unite the party and harmonize the differences of the factions, and we would be able to go to the polls with a solid front in the future as we had done in the past in our State.

I talked with the governor and labored with him until along about the 15th of March. About that time he said he felt that he could not take the place, but he led me to believe that, if the party could be united upon him, he would take the place. I asked him to send for the chairman of the State central committee, Mr. West, his close friend, so that we might discuss the matter. Mr. West came to Springfield, and the Republicans consulted about the advisability of electing the governor. Enough of them pledged themselves to support him to make his election assured. On that night at about 11 o'clock, after I had understood from Mr. West that the governor would be a candidate, Mr. West came to the hotel at which I was stopping and said that the governor would not be a candidate.

From the day that Senator Hopkins was defeated until the 23d day of March, when Mr. Deneen refused positively to be a candidate, we were endeavoring to secure the election of Deneen, and not LORIMER, as United States Senator.

When the governor refused to be a candidate, I consulted him about many other men, and among them Mr. Foss, who was voted for every day. Then I talked with him about Col. LOWDEN, a Member of the House of Representatives, Representative McKINLEY, and Representative RODENBERG, but before I came to discuss any of these names I urged upon him the name of Edward Shurtleff, the speaker of the Illinois House of Representatives. His name was discussed not by the governor and myself alone, but by the governor and his friends—his newspaper friends, and they are all-powerful and absolutely controlling with him. Mr. Noyes, who was then the editor of the Record-Herald, said that he would not agree to Mr. Shurtleff's election. Mr. Noyes is now president of the Star Company in the city of Washington, where Senators can easily reach him and verify this statement. For about three weeks we were trying to elect Shurtleff.

Then came the discussion on this other set of men, and it was not until it had become apparent that the governor would not support any of those men that at his urgent suggestion I considered the advisability of becoming a candidate. This same Mr. Noyes was interviewed by my friend Mr. Shanahan, who was a member of the legislature. Mr. Noyes said he had no objection to Mr. Deneen joining to elect LORIMER to the Senate, but that he personally could not declare in his favor; that he had fought him for so many years that he could not turn in one night and support him, but that he did believe—and he did tell this to Mr. Shanahan—that Mr. LORIMER was the only Republican in Illinois who could afford to be elected by the aid of Democratic votes; that it would not injure him politically to receive the support of Democrats, because he had been elected to the House time after time from a Democratic district by the aid of Democratic votes; that everybody would concede that LORIMER could be elected without injury to himself or to the party politically; and if Mr. Deneen wanted to join with him he had no objection.

Mr. President, that is the statement of fact; that is the true history of the senatorial election in the State of Illinois up to this point. Does that show that months before the legislature convened I was conjuring up in my mind a plot by which I could elect my "henchman" as speaker of the general assembly, and, through the power of that office, foist myself onto that general assembly and place myself in this body? If that truth demonstrates that theory, then I have nothing more to say.

Then we come to another important question in this discussion.

#### The investigation—

Said the Senator from New York [Mr. Root]—

The investigation concerns itself with the way in which those 108 votes were procured. It is practically concentrated upon the way in which the 53 Democratic votes were secured, because it was a matter for special inquiry that 53 Democrats should leave the candidate of their own primary and unite upon a candidate of the opposite party.

If this were the only case of the kind in history, Mr. President, Senators might inquire why Democrats voted for LORIMER, but history is teeming with testimony to the effect that men have been elected to this body by votes of the opposite party.

But here we come, it strikes me, to a point where the question arises how it was that 53 Democrats voted for LORIMER. It is not a very long story, or it is a long story, according to the way it is told, but I shall not test the patience of the Senate by going into a detailed history of the things that brought about this condition. I shall, however, ask a little time of

the Senate to answer the question of the Senator from New York.

When I first became a Member of Congress in 1895 I made up my mind that I should try to do something more than vote for appropriation bills in return for what the people had done for me. I lived in and represented the district in which is located the great Chicago Drainage Canal, which is intended ultimately to be a portion of a great waterway to be established between the Great Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico. I have been urging upon Congress during my service the importance of such an improvement, and I think the Senator from Ohio (Mr. BURTON), who was chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors in the House, will bear me out in the statement that I was constantly at work trying to secure the attention and the aid of Congress for that development, and that I was largely responsible for all the appropriations that were made for the surveys of that project. I found that it was going to cost a great deal of money, the expenditure of vast millions of dollars, and that more than the effort and more than the voice of one man would be required to secure the money requisite to make the improvement. After many years of personal effort I decided that if the improvement was worth while, and the people of the valley came to know that it could be made, and if it were worth enough to them to have it made, if they were informed on the subject, they would support a movement to make the improvement. So I built a little boat—I think it was in 1904—only about 26 feet long, for the express purpose of organizing the Mississippi Valley for that project. One day, with four of my colleagues from Illinois, and my two sons to operate the boat—I will pause just a moment to say that of these four Members of the House, the only Democrat in that body from that State, HENRY RAINEY, was one of that number—we began our trip from Lake Michigan to the Gulf. We stopped at almost every town along the Illinois and the Mississippi Rivers, discussing the matter with the people, organizing in every one of the places where we stopped a Lakes-to-the-Gulf deep waterway association. As we passed down through the valley one Member for one reason and another Member for another went back home, and we filled his place with a Member that we picked up along the route. When we left Chicago we had on board of Members of the other House, four Republicans and one Democrat, Mr. RAINEY, and when we landed in New Orleans we had on board four Democrats and one Republican.

So the work of organizing this association was divided equally from the beginning to the end among Democrats and Republicans, no man and no party seeking to take advantage over the other. Out of these organizations we formed a central organization, held our first convention in St. Louis, and there perfected a permanent Lakes-to-the-Gulf Deep Waterway Association. The following year we accompanied President Roosevelt down the Mississippi River in the interest of this project to the great city of Memphis, all the people turning out to make a holiday.

In the next convention, at Chicago, attended by over 4,000 delegates from the valley, we had upon the platform in the Auditorium, speaking in favor of this project, the Democratic and the Republican candidates for the Presidency—Mr. Bryan and Mr. Taft, our President to-day.

After the convention at Memphis I went back home to my State. Some question had been raised in the House as to whether the Federal Government should make the improvement between Lockport and Utica, in the Illinois valley, a distance of about 60 miles. The chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors raised that question, and it seemed apparent that unless that portion of the work was done by the people of Illinois, in addition to the other 40 miles which they had built at a cost of over \$60,000,000, it would be impossible to get this work under way. So I went back home to my own State where our legislature was in session. I proposed to them that they submit a constitutional amendment to the people authorizing an expenditure of \$20,000,000 to do that work. Here [exhibiting] is a copy of the document containing the arguments that were made, running over a period of several weeks.

After the discussion was completed, the general assembly unanimously, every Democrat and every Republican favoring it, voted to submit a constitutional amendment to the people of our State to decide whether or not \$20,000,000 should be expended for the purpose I have indicated. I remember that, when I was discussing the subject before the general assembly, one gentleman asked me what I thought the people would do about the question. I told him if they passed the resolution and submitted it to the people, and nothing more was done, the people would not adopt the constitutional amendment, for few

of them knew anything about it and a lesser number knew anything of the benefits that would come to the State by the development of this great waterway. I pledged them there that if they would submit the amendment to the people I would go myself into every part of our State, explain the benefits to come to the people, and trust to them to vote an approval.

The legislature submitted the constitutional amendment, and I immediately began the work of organizing the citizens of our State in favor of the project. This work was not confined to Republicans; it was not confined to Democrats; it was not confined to Socialists; it was not confined to Prohibitionists; it was taken even to the homes of men who believed in no party. We organized every precinct in Illinois outside of the city of Chicago by getting people who were interested in the progress of our State—Democrats and Republicans and members of other parties alike. Wherever a county or a town was made up overwhelmingly of Republicans we installed a Democrat for president of the association, and where it was overwhelmingly Democratic we installed a Republican for president of the association; so that every man with whom we talked and worked was impressed with the nonpartisan character of this movement in our State.

I traveled from one end of Illinois to the other, speaking once, twice, three times a day, all the way from two hours a day to five hours a day, interesting the people in this project. At the end of the campaign in September, 1908, the work had been so exhausting that I was not able to say even one word in my congressional district during that campaign, and I had naught to do with my election to Congress the last time.

Would you know the character of people who were interested in the movement? We interested the best men of the State. When we went to Bloomington, a town in a county that is overwhelmingly Republican, we had as our presiding officer and the head of our organization there a gentleman who once graced the chair as president of this body—Adlai E. Stevenson, a Democrat. It was that class of men that were interested in this work. I traveled from county to county with Hon. HENRY RAINEY, spoke from the same platform with him day after day, and in every place a Republican speaker was supplemented by some leading Democrat, either from that community or from some other community in the State.

Mr. President, I want to call attention to the roster of that organization. There it is [exhibiting], 50,000 Democrats and Republicans, about evenly divided, in the precincts outside of the city of Chicago.

When the campaign for the waterway amendment was over and the vote was had, the people announced what they thought of it. That vote was cast on the same day that the President was elected and on the same day that the governor was elected. The vote cast for governor was approximately 1,079,000; the vote cast for President was approximately 1,080,000; the vote cast for the constitutional amendment for the deep waterway was approximately 887,000. The plurality that Governor Deneen received was approximately 23,000; the plurality that President Taft received was approximately 179,000; but the majority for the constitutional amendment was approximately 497,000, almost a half million majority, showing how the people of Illinois; men of all parties, look upon this question.

#### Result of election.

	Vote.	Plurality.
For governor:		
Deneen .....	550,076	
Stevenson .....	526,912	
	1,079,988	23,164
For President:		
Taft .....	629,932	
Bryan .....	450,810	
	1,080,742	179,122
Amendment to constitution:		
For .....	629,522	
Against .....	195,177	
	887,699	497,345

Mr. President, that was the result of the work of over 13 years for this improvement. It was accomplished just exactly as I have stated to you, by the aid of all of the people of the State, regardless of party and regardless of any partisanship. That is one of the reasons why I was able to secure Democratic votes, as I shall show to you later.

The Senator from New York [Mr. ROOT] further said:

Now, there are certain undisputed facts which bear upon this inquiry as to these 53 Democratic votes. The first which I ask you to con-



sider is that Mr. LORIMER was present at Springfield and in attendance at the State capital at the time of this election, and he had been there for several weeks.

The Senator wants you to know that when I was elected to this body I was present at the capital of Illinois and had been there for several weeks. Yes, Mr. President, I had been there for several weeks, and all the time that I could spare from my duties in the other branch of Congress during the session of the legislature, after its organization was perfected, I put in at Springfield, and I was there when I was elected, and I was there to render effective the work done when the constitutional amendment was submitted to the people—to urge the general assembly to pass a bill to carry out the purposes of that amendment, to provide for an organization through which this work could be done and this \$20,000,000 expended. There was a difference between the governor and myself on that question.

I had pledged the people that in so far as I had influence not one dollar of the twenty million should be spent until Congress agreed to cooperate with our State and appropriated the money requisite to finish the project from the Lakes to the Gulf. We had much discussion on that question. I told the governor that I would support, with all the influence I had, a bill to give him absolute control of the work; to place the appointment of all the officials in his hands for the expenditure of the \$20,000,000; and that the only thing I exacted, in so far as I was concerned, was that the money should not be spent until Congress authorized the Federal Government to cooperate with our State.

He wanted the money to be spent for the development of water power. We disagreed, and the contest went on until the last day of the session, when it became known that no bill could be passed because the adherents of one policy were not strong enough to pass it and those of the other policy would not yield a peg. So, Mr. President, I was in Springfield as I have been many, many times before.

I should like to know from the Senator from New York if he has ever been identified with a work of this kind, if he has ever come in contact with his Democratic brethren and worked with them in season and out of season for a project that would not benefit them alone, but would benefit the whole people of his State? If he has been connected with such a work, will he tell me, or will he tell anybody, that when he was doing that work he was not making friends among the people of his State regardless of their party affiliations?

But there is, Mr. President, an abundance of evidence here to show that work in favor of things that help a great State is appreciated by the people who receive the benefit of the effort, and I have here a list of Democrats who voted for me on account of the fact that they felt I had been doing something, that I had been helping in a work that meant much to Illinois, and that if they promoted me to a seat where I would be secure for four or six years this improvement would ultimately be made.

I mention as the first Democrat Senator Hearn. Oh, if there be a Democrat in Illinois, surely Senator Hearn is that man. He had service as captain of Company G of the Fifth Missouri Infantry, in Cockrell's brigade, a Confederate general, and he served through the war as a Confederate soldier. If you think he is not a Democrat go and talk with him. He was one of the men who was in the forefront of this work. He aided in every way that he could to pass the proposed amendment in the house. At that time he was in service in that body. He worked throughout his district with me and with others. But the thing above all things that I am confident caused Senator Hearn to vote for me was not alone that I was for this project, but because he became convinced that I was not trying to get advantage over any Democrat.

He was fond of Congressman RAINEY, and he knew that I had never taken a step in this work from the time we began the organization until he voted for me, until I had consulted with Congressman RAINEY. He was really the leading Democrat in my State in this work, and it was because of the work and because of the fact that I was not trying to get advantage and because I did what was in my power to put a Democrat in the forefront of the work, that he voted for me.

A few days before the vote was taken he came to me and told me all these things and he said: "LORIMER, I would like to vote for you, but I wish you would give me an additional reason for doing it." I asked him what request he had to make. He said, "If you could only go back to Washington as a Senator, and join with the Democrats and just cast one vote with them on the tariff bill, my conscience would feel easier, if I had voted for you." [Laughter.]

I said to him, "Senator, much as I appreciate the dignity of that office, if I can not go there and vote with the Republicans, the stalwart Republicans, I do not want a seat in the United States Senate." [Applause in the galleries.]

The VICE PRESIDENT. No applause is permissible by occupants of the gallery.

Mr. LORIMER. Senator Hearn said, "Well, I guess I will have to vote for you anyhow." Then he went away, and when the roll was called he responded, and I received his vote.

In the campaign it happened that I talked at the home of Representative Blair, who voted for the constitutional amendment, and he had heard me talk about it before the general assembly. To make this campaign I had large maps made to illustrate the work, and after I had finished my talk before the people in his town and the meeting had adjourned he came to me and said, "LORIMER, if you keep up that work you will be governor of Illinois, and when that day comes I will vote for you." That was the way that Democrat felt about the work for the waterway.

Then I went from there over to Franklin County, and I talked in the courthouse on this subject there, and when the meeting adjourned a great, tall, fine looking gentleman came up to me, took me by the hand, and laying one hand on my shoulder said, "Mr. LORIMER, keep up that work. It has merit; the people will come to understand it after awhile, and this improvement will be made, and it will make you"—he was very enthusiastic—"governor, or it will make you Senator, or it will make you President of the United States; and when the time comes, and I am alive and I have the opportunity, you will get my vote."

At that time he had no idea of going to the legislature. But he was nominated by his party, and he was elected by his party, and when on the roll call the name of Sidney Espy was called Sidney Espy cast his vote for me; and there was no man in Springfield, and there is no man in Illinois, whether he be Democrat or Republican, who is a warmer and closer and more enthusiastic friend of mine than Sidney Espy, and for no other reason except the one I have explained.

Now we come to another name—Mr. Gorman, who lives in Peoria, another Democrat. When they began discussing the election of LORIMER, many of the influential people of his town came to Springfield—Democrats and Republicans alike. Peoria is on the Illinois River, and its people believe that the improved waterway will redound greatly to the benefit of their great city. The Democratic ex-mayor, the leader of the Democratic organization, was among the men. I had never seen Mayor O'Connor in my life until he came to Springfield. Those men urged their members of the legislature—Democrats and Republicans—to vote and work for LORIMER, with the result that I secured Gorman's vote, the Democrat, the vote of Black, Republican, and the vote of Butts, Republican, who had also been urged by Mr. Kenney, at the suggestion of Gov. Deneen. The Republican senator came to me before the roll was called and he said: "LORIMER, I wish I were free to vote for you." Senator Dailey further said: "The people of my city want me to vote for you, but I can not do it because I am chairman of Senator Hopkins's"—either his executive committee or his steering committee—"and I can not on that account vote for you. But I wish you godspeed." There is where the vote of Gorman came from.

Michael Link—you have heard much talk about Michael Link here, one of the men who it has been said was bribed to vote for me. When I made the campaign in his senatorial district in Madison County, where I talked every night to large crowds of people, Michael Link was on the platform with me, and I had there with me also the Republican members of the legislature, and I told the people of their district that if this improvement should be made they would owe as much to these men, including Link, as to anybody else in the country. Madison County fronts on the river, and every man, woman, and child in the district is for the improvement and anxious that this work shall be done.

Then the next one I come to in the waterway group is Representative Riley, a staunch old Democrat. I doubt if he ever voted for a Republican in his life, even for supervisor of his township. But if there be a father of the waterway from the Lakes to the Gulf it is Representative Riley. Years ago the people from our city went to the legislature to have the bill authorizing the construction of the canal passed. The mayor and many of our leading citizens spent several weeks there discussing the project. The legislature defeated their bill, and when they were gone Mr. Lyman E. Cooley, the engineer, and Mr. Riley took up the bill together, and at the end of several months Mr. Riley's bill became a law. The channel—160 feet wide in the rock and 24 feet deep—built from Chicago to Joliet, is the result of the work of Representative Riley.

He was in the last legislature; I had worked with him in season and out of season; and if there be anything on earth that would make Riley leave his party (and I am sure it is the only thing in the world he would leave it for) would be for the construction of a waterway from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. He was not only in this work, but more than 20 years ago he was the leader and the father of it all, and championed it and made it what it is.

Mr. Staymates is another Democrat; a man whose honesty no man on earth, who ever knew him, would impugn; a man who has devoted his time from the day we adopted the constitutional amendment up to this time in writing for all the papers that would take his copy on this subject; and he voted for me on that account.

We come to Henry Shephard. What about Henry Shephard? When the congressional party came back to Washington from New Orleans at the opening of Congress, I called a meeting of the men who had made the trip, and we organized among the Members of Congress an association. When I notified Mr. RAINEX, he told me that he could not attend that night because his friend, Henry Shephard, was in town. I invited Henry Shephard to come to that little dinner where we organized, and it was there that I first met Henry Shephard. It was there that he first became interested in this work. It was at that time that a friendship grew up between him and me that has lasted until to-day. Henry Shephard was a member of the legislature, and he was for this proposition all the way through.

The Senator asks why I was at Springfield when I was elected to the Senate. The Senator says that I was there for several weeks before I was elected to the Senate. Suppose I had no business there in favor of this waterway; suppose I had never had any interest in the development of my State and that the only thing I cared about was to get office for myself; suppose I had organized the legislature to elect myself to the Senate; and then suppose that for no other purpose, except to promote my election, I was in Springfield for several weeks before I was elected; then what of that? Is that proof of bribery? Is that evidence of corrupt practices, that a man who is a candidate for office should go to those who have the votes with which he can secure office and tell them he wants their votes and ask them to be for him? Is that an evidence of corruption and bribery?

Great stress is laid on the fact that I was in Springfield. Has any Senator here ever been in Springfield, or has any Senator here ever been at the capital of his State when they were discussing his election to this body? Is it a crime to be there? If it is, Mr. President, then I am guilty of that crime; I am guilty of being in Springfield; but it has always struck me that if a man wanted votes for United States Senator, wanted the support of his own legislature, and wanted a seat in this body, he had a right to go where the votes are; that he had a right to talk to the members of the legislature; and that if he did go there and if he did talk to the members of the legislature it was not evidence of bribery or corruption.

Mr. President, it is the talk of a child. No man who has ever had any experience in politics will pay any attention to a statement of that sort.

During the time that I have been actively identified with politics in my State, every time a Senator was elected, sometimes during the campaign for his election and frequently on the day he was elected, he was present in the capitol at Springfield. I have only to recall the memorable fight of 1885, when the legislature was in a deadlock. The Democrats had one-half of the strength of the body and the Republicans had the other. Gen. Logan had a seat in this body at that time, and he was a candidate for reelection. From the day the members of the general assembly began to assemble in Springfield, before the house or the senate was organized, Gen. Logan was on the ground. He was there talking to the members of the general assembly, and he was there during the whole winter, until the springtime, when he was finally returned to this body.

Did anybody cast suspicion upon Gen. Logan because he was present at the capital weeks before he was returned to this body? Not at all; and nobody ever thought of such a thing.

The only purpose, Mr. President, that there can be in throwing this seeming cloud of suspicion over this election is in order that Senators may believe I was not only elected to this body by bribery and corruption but that I was present there and knew it was going on and was sanctioning that sort of thing. Any man who knows anything about that contest knows that the contrary is the fact in the case.

Now, we come to another set of Democrats who voted for LORIMER, the anti-Hopkins Democrats. There was present in

that general assembly Representative George Alschuler, and he voted for LORIMER. George Alschuler lives in Hopkins's home town; he is his neighbor. May I say, in passing, that while he voted for LORIMER—and the brand of condemnation is asked for those who did vote for LORIMER—he was reelected to the general assembly by an overwhelming majority, and he was elected leader of the minority, and he is now the minority leader of that body. He voted for me, I may say, because he was friendly; but that would not be sufficient reason. He voted for me because he was opposed to the election of Hopkins, and he announced it to everybody. There was not one man in Springfield who knew anything about the election but knew that George Alschuler would vote for any Republican or any man of any other party in order to defeat Senator Hopkins. It was not a LORIMER vote; he belongs to nobody; but he was against Hopkins, and he announced in the beginning that if the time ever came when his vote could defeat Hopkins it would be cast for the man who would defeat him.

Then we come to another—the departed Charles Luke. Not one single man who had ought to do with the election of Senator, not one single man who was paying attention to the election of Senator but knew that Luke would vote for anybody in order to defeat Senator Hopkins. All who served with the Senator, either in the House or in this body, remember him very well. You knew him a lot better than I did, and I helped to send him here. It will be remembered that Senator Hopkins had one of the most bitter and most partisan tongues of any man who ever sat in this body. If he had a weakness at all, it was that. When he went through Luke's district he used that tongue for all it was worth denouncing Luke. He seldom made a campaign that he did not denounce Democrats everywhere he went.

It may be the right policy in a campaign; it may be the proper thing to do if you want to get office; but it is not the policy I have ever adopted. I have laid the principles of my party before my constituents and left it to them to decide, and I have denounced nobody. Denunciation gets nowhere. It never placed a law on the statute book. No man who has any sense would make a campaign along those lines. Senator Hopkins made these bitter enemies among the Democrats, and they were willing to vote for anybody to defeat him in his desire to be returned to this body.

We come now to De Wolf. You have heard his name mentioned on this floor. What about De Wolf? De Wolf stated upon the stand that he was ready to vote for Hopkins, and that he was going to try to get other Democrats to vote for Hopkins, to break the deadlock; that he was tired of his service in Springfield and wanted to get back home to his farm and attend to his own business, and that not only would he vote for Hopkins, but everybody in Springfield at that time knew he would vote for any Republican or any Democrat who could be elected to break the deadlock. When the roll was called he voted for me for the same reason that he was willing to vote for anybody else.

Then we come to Senator Broderick, who voted for me. You have all heard his name. Senator Broderick I have known (I can not measure the time) for probably more than 15 years. My old district is filled with Senator Broderick's friends and relatives. There never was a time when I had a contest in the district, and these same newspapers that are hounding me now and always have hounded me undertook to drive me out of Congress, when, without any solicitation on my part, Senator Broderick sent word to his Democratic friends in the district and went there himself and pleaded with them, and asked them to vote for LORIMER and they did vote for LORIMER.

Let me say now, if it had not been for the support I received from Democrats in that congressional district when these assassins of character were trying to destroy me, I would not have been in the Lower House of Congress, much less occupying a seat in this body to-day.

I never solicited a vote from a Democrat under false pretenses. No Democrat who ever voted for me ever thought that when I was sent to Congress I would support the principles of the great party to which he belonged. No Democrat was ever deceived into voting for me for a seat in Congress. Everybody knows, and with God's help everybody will know, where I stand on every question until my time shall come to leave this earth.

So it was not from deception that I received that support, nor was it from deception or by deception that I received the support of Broderick when he voted for me for United States Senator.

Senator Gorman, another Democrat, lives in the old district I represented that gave a Democratic majority of all the way



from 5,000 to 17,000 every election we had except the elections when I was a candidate for a seat in the house of representatives. In every election except one Senator Gorman, as a Democrat, voted for me. He was one of the best friends I had in that congressional district. The only time he ever voted against me was when his chum ran in opposition to me. When he was elected to the senate the first time I went to Springfield I met him in the St. Nicholas Hotel and he began the discussion of this Senatorship. He said, "If the time ever comes, LORIMER, that the Democrats and the Republicans can elect you, depend upon me to do what I have always done, to vote for you when the roll is called."

Senators Rainey and Jandus and I were raised in the same neighborhood. The same is true of Representatives Cermak and Forst. I was associated with them and with their friends for many years.

Representative Geshkewich I have known for more than 15 years. I have known him at home; I have known him in the legislature; I have known him in political contests in my city and my county; and he would have gone further to serve me than he would have gone to have served any Democrat in our State. That is why I got Geshkewich's vote.

I am not going to give all the history and all the reasons that led up to the friendships which grew up between these Democrats and myself over a period of 40 years, but I think it is due to the Senate that I should relate one or two of the circumstances that finally led up to the voting of Democrats for a Republican.

John Griffin voted for me. John Griffin lives in the neighborhood I lived in 40 years ago. I can not remember just when it was that I made his acquaintance, it is so far back. We have been friends all that time. But that was not the single reason why Griffin voted for me.

When I was a boy and started out in the world the first dollar I made was by selling newspapers. I had been well taken care of at home, with no responsibility, with nothing to look after. I had been brought up as mothers would bring up their boys if they had all to do with it; almost at mother's apron strings all the time. At the time it became necessary for me to go out and earn a living I was 10 years old. I had had no experience. I knew nothing about where to turn. Friends in the neighborhood suggested that I might make a dollar by selling papers in the morning, and I began peddling papers and blacking boots.

After I had been at the work for a time (I remember it as well as if it were yesterday) I went over to the Tribune Building and down into the basement and bought 50 Tribunes. In those days the papers were not folded as they are now. They were counted out, first the heading and then the supplement, and shoved out of the window to the boy purchasing them; and then he went away into a doorway or hallway and folded them and put them together.

One Sunday morning as I came up out of the basement a crowd of boys surrounded me. Some held me by the hands and others by the throat, and they pulled my headings out from under my arm and then let me go. They disappeared. I was standing there brooding not only over the dollar that I might have made out of the sale of those papers, but the dollar and a half that I had paid for them, because the supplement was of no value without the heading, when another boy came along with an armful of papers and asked me what was the matter, why I was so downcast. I told him the story. He looked at me for a moment and handed his papers over to me and said, "Stand back there in the doorway. Stay there until I come back." He went away, and in about five minutes he returned and he had my headings in his hand. He said, "Here are your papers. Now, see to it that they don't take them away from you again." Out of that little incident grew a friendship to the extent that almost every week I helped him. We had in our town at that time a Saturday afternoon paper called the Gazette. In the territory that I worked I sold all of mine, and this boy usually had some left over. We used to call it in those days getting "stuck." He would give them to me and I would take them up into my territory and sell them for him. Sometimes there was only one paper, but it saved him 5 cents and he made the profit on it of another 5 cents. Sometimes there were half a dozen, and he saved his 30 cents and made a profit of 30 cents.

That friendship grew up on that basis. A dollar and a half he had saved for me, and one dollar was more to me, Senator Roor, in those days than \$1,000,000 would be to many of the people of this country to-day. What grew up out of that little incident was a friendship and a gratitude that has lasted for over 40 years. This man that I speak of as a man now was a

boy then. He was a sort of a hero with the newsboys—a sort of a king of the crowd—and what he said they should do they did.

I have no doubt that Senators in this Chamber have heard his name because the newspapers of my town are ringing with it every day. In those days we called him Hinky Dink. His name is Michael Kenna. The nickname has followed him to this day. He is the leading Democrat in the neighborhood in which he lives. John Griffin represents that district. When the papers published the story that LORIMER would probably be a candidate for Senator he came to my office and said to me substantially this:

Bill, I understand you are going to be a candidate for United States Senator, and that you can not be elected unless you get Democratic votes. You can depend upon it that if your name is presented John Griffin will vote for you if no other member of the legislature does.

Can the Senator from New York understand a situation of that kind? Has he ever come up through conditions of that sort, which bind men together more firmly than all the things that can be done for him when he has grown to manhood—after he has been successful?

When we quit selling papers Michael Kenna went one way and I went another. He became a Democrat and I became a Republican. But there never has been a time in 40 years when we could help each other that we have failed to do it without solicitation, and almost invariably without notifying the other of our performance of what we considered our duty unless it was necessary to do so. It may be the Senator from New York and the Senator from South Dakota and some other Senators can not understand that kind of a friendship.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. President—

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from South Dakota?

Mr. LORIMER. Certainly.

Mr. CRAWFORD. I do not think there is a person on the face of the earth a story of that kind does not appeal to. I want to say to the Senator from Illinois he is not the only poor boy who has made his way through hardships to the Senate, and he can not plead that he is the only one.

Mr. LORIMER. I am not pleading that I am the only one who has made his way through this world and is now sitting in the Senate, nor am I pleading poverty or hard knocks as a reason why I should sit in this body. I am giving to the Senators the truth as to why these men voted for me for United States Senator. I am not pleading for sympathy. I do not want sympathy. This is not a question of sympathy. It is a question of right or wrong. If the Senate can believe me to be the low, vile creature the Senator from South Dakota and the Senator from New York and other Senators who have talked against me would have you believe me to be, then there is a plain duty staring you squarely in the face, regardless of the testimony in this record. If I could be the foul wretch that you, Senators, have sought to paint me, regardless of how I came here, by right or by wrong, I should be driven from yonder door with the stamp of infamy branded upon my back. I am not pleading for sympathy. I am trying to narrate the truth of my election as it was, not as Senators would have the Senate believe it.

Then I come to another, George Hilton, a Democrat, a member of the legislature, and he has been for many years. In my State there is a great deal of patronage that is known as "the minority patronage" given to Democrats. In my career of over 20 years, and on account of the position I have held in my party, I have had much to say about the disposition of that patronage. Several years ago it happened to fall to me to suggest that George Hilton should be appointed to the chief bailiff's office in my city; a place that pays him well, and a place for the holding of which he is very much gratified.

Representative Hruby was also a boy from my own neighborhood. I have helped him and his friends for the past 25 years.

Walter A. Lantz, a member of the general assembly, is a man who, through my assistance, was appointed a member of the civil service board of the county in which I live.

John J. McLaughlin and George L. McConnell are both members from the congressional district where I live. I have known them both many years. I do not know how many favors they have done for me or how many I have done for them, but I would say that they are probably almost innumerable.

Thomas J. O'Brien, John O'Neill, and John J. Poulton are men with whom or with whose close political friends I have been associated ever since I have been in politics.

John P. Walsh is a resident of my former congressional district. He is now and has been for years in the circuit clerk's

office of our county, at the suggestion of my friends and myself.

John C. Werdell, Frank Wilson, and Bob Wilson—Frank Wilson I have known for years.

Peter F. Galligan. I do not know how long I have known Peter, but Peter has been a Democrat all these years; a leader in the Democratic party; for many years a member of the legislature; and at one time he served in the senate of our State. So partisan is Peter, or so partisan was Peter, that, though I was his friend, he would not ask a favor from me; yet at the same time he would go any length to serve me; but about 15 years ago when everybody was broke, when everybody was hard up, Peter, with the balance of us, was also hard up. It was the most trying time of his life. Peter's wife was sick—sick unto death—and he did not have a dollar at home, no money to pay the doctor, nor any money to buy medicine, no money to furnish coal to keep the home warm. Then he came to me and related his circumstances. I secured an appointment for him, out of which he received a fair salary, with which he was able to take care of his sick wife and give to her such nourishment as she required during those long painful days, and finally, to give her a decent burial. He had gone to all his friends; he had called on all his Democratic leaders for help, but he had called in vain. When he came to me I was fortunate enough to be able to help him, and from that day to this the gratitude of Peter F. Galligan has made him almost my willing slave. There is nothing in the world within the bounds of decency, there is no honorable thing that he might do that I would ask him to do, that he would not do with the greatest of pleasure. The day I was elected in the house of representatives in Springfield, when I was called upon to address that body, just before I went up to the speaker's desk, I was met by Peter Galligan with the tears streaming down his cheeks, tears of joy, tears of great pleasure, tears of gratitude for an opportunity that had been afforded him to pay back what he thought was a great obligation, but which to me amounted to nothing at all. It was that sort of thing that made Peter Galligan my friend; it was that act that made him my devoted friend; and I know there is no man in Illinois—I care not to what party he belongs—for whom Peter Galligan would go so far or make so many sacrifices, or would give up so much for, as he would for me. When he cast his vote he did not think he was making a sacrifice, because in the house of representatives when the roll was called and his name was reached—because Republicans and Democrats had stated upon that floor that the Democrats who voted for me would live to rue the day, that they would be ostracized and driven out of the party—when his name was called, he said: "Mr. Speaker, I do not agree with the statements made here. I will not be ostracized from my party; I will not rue the day that I vote for LORIMER. When the people from my district know that I am returning after this vote is cast, they will meet me at the depot with a brass band, and say, 'Here comes our hero.'" Peter Galligan is now a member of the general assembly, reelected after his vote cast for me, and reelected by an overwhelming majority.

Much has been said of Emanuel A. Abrahams—"Manny" Abrahams they say, and that was what we called him when he was a boy. "The bellwether," "the bellwether," goes ringing all through the speech of the Senator from New York. How about "Manny" Abrahams? It is only a short story, and I will tell you a little of "Manny" Abrahams.

When I was about 20 years of age I was running a street car on South Halsted Street in Chicago. In those days, early in the morning the loads were all carried down town, and coming back we had very few passengers. About that time the Jews were moving over into the neighborhood of Halsted and Twelfth Streets—only a few; but as time went on the numbers increased. They were all industrious men. They came to Halsted and Twelfth Streets to take a car to go out to the suburbs with their big packs of goods and work their way home, disposing of their wares during the day. In those days we had a rule which permitted the conductor either to take or reject passengers with large packages. Then the prejudice against that people in that neighborhood was very strong and very bitter. Many of the conductors when they arrived at Twelfth Street would refuse, even with an empty car, to allow them to ride. Frequently I have seen those men get on the car with a pack, lay it on the platform, and have seen the conductor stop the car and kick the pack out into the street, and then the car moved on, and the passenger stayed there or else he walked out into the suburbs. Either my folk taught me to have prejudice against nobody or God made me that way. So I have no prejudice against anybody of any nationality.

When I came along in the morning and had no passengers I always took those men on board with their packs and carried them out to the end of the line, until I became known among them as the man they could ride with. So they waited for my car. It turned out after awhile that every morning I would get a large load of those men. In increased numbers they moved into that neighborhood. I was known as their friend. It was a small thing to do, and there was no reason why men should have any gratitude on account of me permitting them to ride and pay their fares; but they did have it. After I quit service on the cars I lived in the same ward with those people and as they came in I became better acquainted with them.

Then I entered into politics. When I entered into politics not one of them was ever permitted to vote at the polls. Nobody would let them have anything to do with or allowed them to go near the polls; and if they undertook to go there, they were insulted, abused, assaulted, and knocked down, bricks were thrown at them, and they were driven from the polls. I organized every precinct in which they lived, and we gave them protection. It got so they came to my home at night and talked over their little troubles. There might be a dozen or probably 50 coming to my home, laying their little troubles at my door and asking for help. I helped them always. Then I moved out of the neighborhood; but when I go down there now to attend a meeting—and I go there about once every year or two; they have large halls and large meetings—I am met there by the old citizens and the rabbis of the neighborhood; I am taken around and introduced to the newcomers. I am not introduced as "Mr. LORIMER;" I am not presented as "Congressman LORIMER;" I was not made acquainted with these people as "Senator LORIMER;" but I was taken from one to the other and introduced as "the Father." Does the Senator from New York know what that means? When people come to believe in you, when they come to trust you and almost to revere you, as these people do me, when they come to the point of introducing you as "the Father," that is the greatest compliment that race of people can pay to any man. Whether I deserve that confidence or not, whether I have earned their gratitude or not, that is the condition there, and any man who would declare for the political, for the business, for the financial, or for the social destruction of LORIMER and run for office in that district could not get votes enough to make a respectable showing. No man can go among those people into that district as my enemy and live politically—I state that not in any sense of boasting, but because it is a matter of fact—and "Manny" Abrahams could not have gone back home and looked his people in the face if I had been a candidate and had been beaten by 1 vote and he had failed to vote for me.

"Manny" Abrahams, the bellwether! I say it goes ringing all through the speech of the Senator from New York. For what purpose? For any other purpose than to create prejudice? I wish I could think so. A bellwether; the first man on the roll call for everybody to follow, as though a bellwether was a new thing in legislative bodies, as though we had never heard of a bellwether here, as though they had never had a bellwether in the House of Representatives, or as though they had never had a bellwether in any legislative body in the United States. We have our bellwether here; we have the Democratic bellwether; we have the "insurgent" bellwether [laughter], and we have the "stalwart" bellwether. When I happen to be absent from this Chamber and the bell rings announcing the roll call, if I chance to step in the door in time to hear the name of Senator ALDRICH called, he is my bellwether. [Laughter.] I know where my vote belongs, and I vote as he votes. If he happens to be absent, I listen to the roll call until the clerk comes to the name of my distinguished colleague, the Senator from Illinois, and then, when he has voted, Senator CULLOM becomes my bellwether. I know where to vote from that time on. If I happen to get in a little later, I wait for the roll call to reach Senator GALLINGER's name; and after he has voted I know my place. Then we go along a little further, and if I happen to come in after he has answered the roll call, I wait until Senator LODGE has voted. [Laughter.] Then, if I find that he and Senator LA FOLLETTE have voted the same way, I wait for somebody else to vote, and then somebody else becomes my bellwether. [Laughter on the floor and in the galleries.]

Senators know that when the roll is called they walk in the door and ask "How is our vote." I have heard many a Democrat say that. I sit on this side with them. I do not want to know their secrets; but sometimes they talk too loud; and they ask that question so that I can not avoid hearing it. So I know they have a bellwether. While I do not know it as a matter



of fact, I venture the statement that the time has been—I will go a little farther than that, and say the time will come—when the Senator from New York will walk into this Chamber some day when the roll is being called and ask somebody in whom he has confidence, "How is our vote" and then vote that way.

Why, Mr. President, the talk about "bellwether" is all nonsense. There is a bellwether in every legislative assembly in this country, and so long as there are parties and so long as there are principles that divide parties, there will be bellwethers. The talk of bellwethers fools nobody; it will create no suspicion that will injure anybody either in this forum or in the House of Representatives or in any other legislative body in this country or anywhere else, unless it be upon the Chautauqua platform. [Laughter.]

Mr. President, grave charges have been made against my right to hold a seat in this body. If I read the speeches of Senators rightly, and if I understand what they mean—some of them go even to the extent of making almost the direct charge—if I understand them at all, they would leave an impression upon this body that I was elected by bribery and corruption, and that not only was I elected by bribery and corruption, but that I was on hand aiding it, giving it the stamp of my approval, and sanctioning it. In proof of that statement they point out that Lee O'Neil Browne was my agent—my authorized agent. What else can it mean? They would have you believe that Lee O'Neil Browne tied up in one package 30 Democratic votes, carried them into the hall of the general assembly, dumped them down there, bought body and soul, and sold and delivered them to me. I can understand how that might make an impression on Senators who know nothing about the situation and know nothing about the politics of my State. But here, Mr. President, is a list of 34 Democrats that were for me for United States Senator on my own account, and not because Lee O'Neil Browne delivered them to me.

*Democrat waterway support.*—Senator Hearn; Representatives Blair, Espy, Gorman, Link, Riley, Staymates, H. A. Shephard.

*Anti-Hopkins.*—Representatives Alschuler, Luke.

*To end deadlock.*—Representative De Wolf.

*Democrat personal support.*—Senators Broderick, Gorman, Jandus, Rainey; Representatives Abrahams, Cernak, Forst, Geshkewich, Griffin, Hilton, Hruby, Lantz, McLaughlin, McConnell, E. J. Murphy, O'Brien, O'Neil, Poulton, Walsh, Werdel, F. J. Wilson, R. E. Wilson, Galligan.

Seventeen or 18—19, I think it was—of the men who belonged to Lee O'Neil Browne's faction who voted for me, would have voted for me if I had been a candidate for Senator, even though Lee O'Neil Browne labored with them throughout the whole session—if I had been a candidate through the whole session—to oppose me. He did not deliver them. They delivered him. They were my friends, and there is not one of them who would not have gone further on a personal matter for me than they would have gone for Lee O'Neil Browne, and many of them would have made more sacrifices for me personally than they would for any Democrat in the State of Illinois; and I measure my words when I make that statement. Thirty-four of the 53, for one personal reason or another, voted for me and pleaded with the other 19 Democrats and prevailed upon them to vote for me also. That is the history of that vote.

Much has been made in statements here upon this floor of the fact that I am a personal friend of Speaker Shurtleff, and the further fact that during my stay in Springfield I occupied the speaker's room at the capitol; that I met Shephard in the speaker's room, and that I talked with members in the speaker's room, and that it was a suspicious circumstance that I should occupy the speaker's room. That may be so in other States. I do not know anything about the speaker's room in other States, or the privacy of his room in other States, but I do know all about the speaker's room in the State of Illinois. Mr. President, the speaker's room of the State of Illinois is practically the same size as the Marble Room outside of this Senate Chamber. It has more lounges and sofas in it than we have in the Marble Room. It has more chairs than we have in the Marble Room. It has a much greater seating capacity than the Marble Room. Our legislative assembly hall has a seating arrangement all around outside of the members' chairs.

I do not know how it is in your State, but I know how it is in mine. Anyone introduced by a member is free to go in and take possession of these seats in the assembly room. They walk down the aisles and they sit and talk to the members, and if they are interrupting the legislative proceedings by their talk they go out into the speaker's room. In fact, anybody who goes to Springfield and is acquainted with a member of the legislature may go into the speaker's room. It is a meeting

place. Democrats go there and Republicans go there, and they take their friends there, and they sit and they talk and they smoke there. It is more of a smoking room than a room of privacy, and the door of the room is never locked, except in the morning before the opening of the session, when the steering committee is occupying it, preparing the work for the legislative day.

Great stress is laid on the fact that LORIMER was present in Springfield when he was elected and that he occupied the speaker's room. Has any Member of this Senate ever sat in the speaker's room of the capitol of his State? Has any Senator here ever sat in the speaker's room while the roll was being called that elected him to this body? If he was there, was it a sign of bribery and corruption?

Oh, Mr. President, if that is to be adopted as the rule, I do not know how men are going to get votes when they want to be elected to this great forum. Surely, I never will intimate to anybody anywhere that because a man who was elected to this body was present in his capitol and sitting in the speaker's room when the roll was being called, and talked to the members of the legislature in that room, that such is evidence of bribery and corrupt practices; and I do not think, Mr. President, anybody else will think so. I do not believe anybody will pay attention or give any weight at all to a statement of that kind, which I fear was made to cast a cloud of suspicion. It is not and can not be evidence of anything either good or bad, and it could have had no other purpose except to unsettle the minds of Senators and probably lead them to believe that maybe something was wrong.

Mr. President, if the securing of Democratic votes is an evidence of wrongdoing, then I have been doing wrong for the past 25 years. If the securing of Democratic votes, either for myself or for my party or for the candidates of my party is an evidence of corruption, then I have been a corruptionist ever since I was a boy. I was brought up in a Democratic neighborhood, and the thing that took me into politics was not the hope of political preferment. I was a Republican, and there was nobody in the precinct to give me a Republican ballot the day I went to cast my first vote for James G. Blaine. All the precincts around my home were made up almost solidly of Democrats—500 Democratic votes and two or three Republican votes. There were not enough members of my party in a precinct to fill up the quota of judges and clerks and ticket peddlers on election day. I was only 24 years old then, and I voted for Blaine, and I doubt if there was a more enthusiastic Blaineite in this country than I was, and nobody was more disappointed than I was at his defeat. I concluded that if all the country was managed in my party as the territory that I lived in was managed, that that in itself applied to New York, was enough to defeat Blaine for the Presidency. I made up my mind that that would never happen in my election precinct again.

So I began to organize, not to become a leader of my party, but to take care of my own precinct two days in a year, and see that the ballots were there for Republicans when they came to vote. That precinct was organized and then the other precincts were organized, because once the political virus is injected into the white man there is no telling where he will stop. So I went into the next precinct and organized that. And how? With Republicans? No. There were no Republicans there. With Democrats, young men of my age who had never affiliated with their party, but thought they were Democrats because their good fathers were Democrats. They joined with us, and we organized one precinct after another until the whole ward was organized.

We did not go out calling Democrats names. We did not abuse Democrats. We told them the things our party stood for, and asked them to join us on that account; and after a while, with energy and industry, we had a splendid organization in every precinct in the ward; and we were not in politics, or at least we did not know we were. But we had not been in politics over two years until we sent a Republican alderman to the council from that ward, and that Republican organization spread from that ward to other wards until the Republican leaders of our county began to look to that section of the county for their Republican majority.

But for the organization in that section the city of Chicago would have been as strongly Democratic for the past 20 years as is the city of New York.

This organization, my friends, was bred not in malice, not in denunciation, but it was bred in principle and fostered by telling what we thought was the truth, and in good fellowship to each other. It was not very long until the leaders of the party all over the county looked to our territory; and without

knowing it, or rather without realizing it, and surely not knowing the reason why, I was pushed forward, made the leader in my party of that Democratic section of the county.

I do not know whether Senators who do not live in a large city and a large county understand what that means. In our city and in our county in those days we had at the disposal of the party in power anywhere from 12,000 to 15,000 places, according to the season of the year, and when the Republican party came into control of the city for the first time in my career, in 1887, the disposition of all the patronage in that section of the town fell into my hands. I knew nothing about it. To be truthful, I did not know what to do with it. I disposed of it as best I could, and it was disposed of among the people in our neighborhood, and these young men that came from Democratic families into our party were chiefly the recipients of what we had.

From that time to this no man has ever come to my home, no man has ever come to my office to ask me to do him a favor, little or big, that, unless it was a strictly party matter, I ever asked him his politics. I do not know and I can not know whether I properly carried out my obligations in the disposition of those places or not; I do not know what people would think about it; but I do know that in the territory from which I come 90 per cent of the Democrats, whether they vote for me or not, will tell you they would rather have LORIMER in Congress or LORIMER in any place he wants to go to than any man in their own party.

As I have stated before, it is not because I have ever deceived a Democrat. No Democrat ever thought I would vote with his party when he voted for me. A very distinguished senator and elderly Democrat in the Illinois General Assembly came to me—and unless Senators ask his name I shall withhold it—a few days before I was elected and he said, "LORIMER, you know I would like to vote for you, but I live down in a Democratic country, where it is hard to forgive a Democrat if he votes for a Republican; I think you ought to be sent to the Senate, and if you will vote there with the Democrats on the tariff I will vote for you." I said to him, "Senator, I can not do that." He thought for a moment or two. "Well," he said, "I will go a little further with you. If you will vote with Senator LA FOLLETTE and his followers in the Senate on the tariff bill I will vote for you. That is not going the whole distance, but I can go back to my district and my people will not destroy me politically because I voted for you if you will vote that way." I told him I could not do that. Then he said, "Well, I am sorry; I would like to vote for you; I would like to see you in the Senate; but I can not afford to do it unless you can do something to make the way easy for me."

So it is that at no time and at no place have I ever had Democratic support on account of any reason except pure, unadulterated friendship. In the last campaign in which I was elected to Congress, when I was unable even to sign a letter to be sent out to my constituency, that district gave approximately 12,000 majority to President Taft. He received the largest vote and the largest majority—or his electors did, and I take the elector who received the highest vote in the district. He received a larger vote than any person other than myself running in that district. I did not make one speech, and I did not see one man, and I got more than 3,500 plurality more than President Taft.

Of what is that an evidence? Is that an evidence of bribery? Is it an evidence of corrupting Democrats to vote for me? If it is, then Mr. President I have a trail of corrupted Democrats following me over my career of 25 years. If they were bought with money I would have been compelled to buy them by the tens of thousands, and according to the theory that is contended for here it would have cost millions of dollars.

Mr. President, it is an easy matter to intimate that any man is guilty of wrongdoing, and once the intimation is made, I regret to say, it is an easy matter for many people to believe it. But when one is charged with wrongdoing, the facts should be laid before the judging body. They should be the unqualified and unadulterated truth, and that applies more largely, in my opinion, to the question of unseating a Senator or a Member of the House of Representatives than it does to taking the life or the liberty or the property of a citizen. To turn a member from this or any other legislative body on the suspicion that if certain things happened, certain other things might happen, would be establishing a rule that would indeed soon destroy this Republic.

No man, not even the Tribune, has ever dared to charge that I was ever remotely guilty of bribery or corrupt practices; and I never did, not only in this election but in any other election,

use one dollar, or allow the use of one dollar, or knowingly permit the use of one dollar, nor had I the remotest idea or knowledge of the use of one dollar for my election, the corrupt use of it for bribery, or for any other corrupt purpose, either to the Lower House or to this body. If Senators even suggest that they think I did have knowledge of any corrupt practices of any kind, have the knowledge in any degree, I am very sorry for it. On my word as a man—and even the Tribune will not say to you or intimate to you that they know of any time I ever even remotely broke that word or violated faith; even they will not say to you that I am guilty of that act—I never gave nor do I know of any other person giving any kind of a promise, or any money, or anything else as an inducement for them to vote for me.

My regret, Mr. President, is that anybody should think so. I claim nothing more for myself than any other man. I am not possessed of any more virtues than any other decent citizen of this country. In the life I have lived and worked for 40 years, I may not have succeeded, but I have tried, as hard as a human being can try, to live a life that would make me at least acceptable to the decent citizens of my community. I have tried for 40 years to live a life that will make my neighbors and my townsmen and the people of my State have confidence in me. I say I may not have succeeded, but God knows I have tried. But if I have failed, if I did not succeed, no living man will come to my door and lay the charge of practicing bribery or corrupt practices in any election that I ever was interested in, be it for myself or for anybody else. I regret that there are Senators in this Chamber who feel that they have been able to find anything at all in my business life, in my political career, in my social life, or in my life with my family, that will justify them in even having a suspicion that I have been guilty of the charges they would lay at my door.

I say again, on my word as a man and on my word as a Senator, I am not guilty, and I have no knowledge in the remotest degree that bribery and corruption were practiced in securing a seat for me in this body. No matter what the Tribune says, no matter what they have been able to do through coercion in the State attorney's office in my county, I do not believe that votes were bought by anybody to send me to this body.

I have stated that I knew something about my election to this body, and I have stated to you what I know about it. What I have stated to you is the truth. Even the Tribune will not dare to refute the statement that these 34 Democrats voted for me—or the reason I have stated to you, and that they secured the balance of the Democratic votes; and instead of Lee O'Neill Browne, who was friendly to me and who did help me and to whom I am obligated, delivering these 53 votes from the Democratic Party to me when I was elected United States Senator, they, with their influence, with their talk, with their persuasion, delivered Lee O'Neill Browne if there was any delivery of anybody at any time during my election. [Applause in the galleries.]

THE VICE PRESIDENT. Occupants of the galleries will refrain from applause. It is not permitted under the usages of the Senate.

Mr. LODGE. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I ask the Senator to withhold the motion for one moment.

Mr. LODGE. I withhold it for a moment.

THE VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Massachusetts withholds the motion.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I wish merely to state that in view of the lateness of the hour and the desire of the Senator from Massachusetts to go into executive session on a very important matter of business, it is manifest I can not continue my remarks this evening. Therefore, with the permission of the Senate, I shall continue them to-morrow after the conclusion of the routine morning business.

#### EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. LODGE. I renew my motion.

THE VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Massachusetts moves that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After 1 hour and 25 minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 6 o'clock and 40 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, February 23, 1911, at 12 o'clock meridian.